

# CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE  
INSTITUTION  
OF

CYRUS.

BY XENOPHON.

Translated from the GREEK

By the late

Honourable MAURICE ASHLEY, Esq;

To which is prefixed,

A Preface, by way of Dedication, to the Right  
Honourable the Lady ELIZABETH HARRIS.

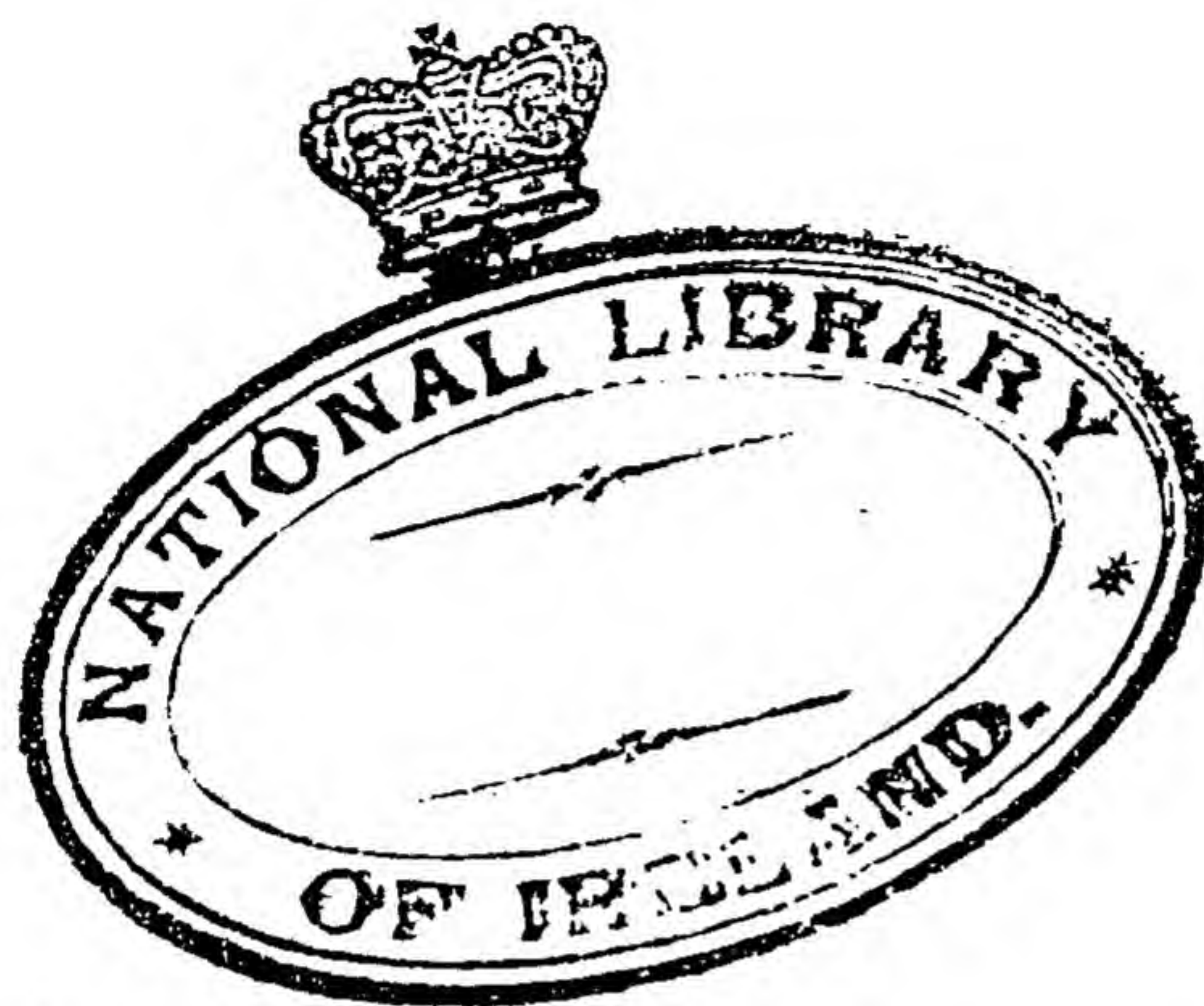
V O L. I.

The FOURTH EDITION, corrected.

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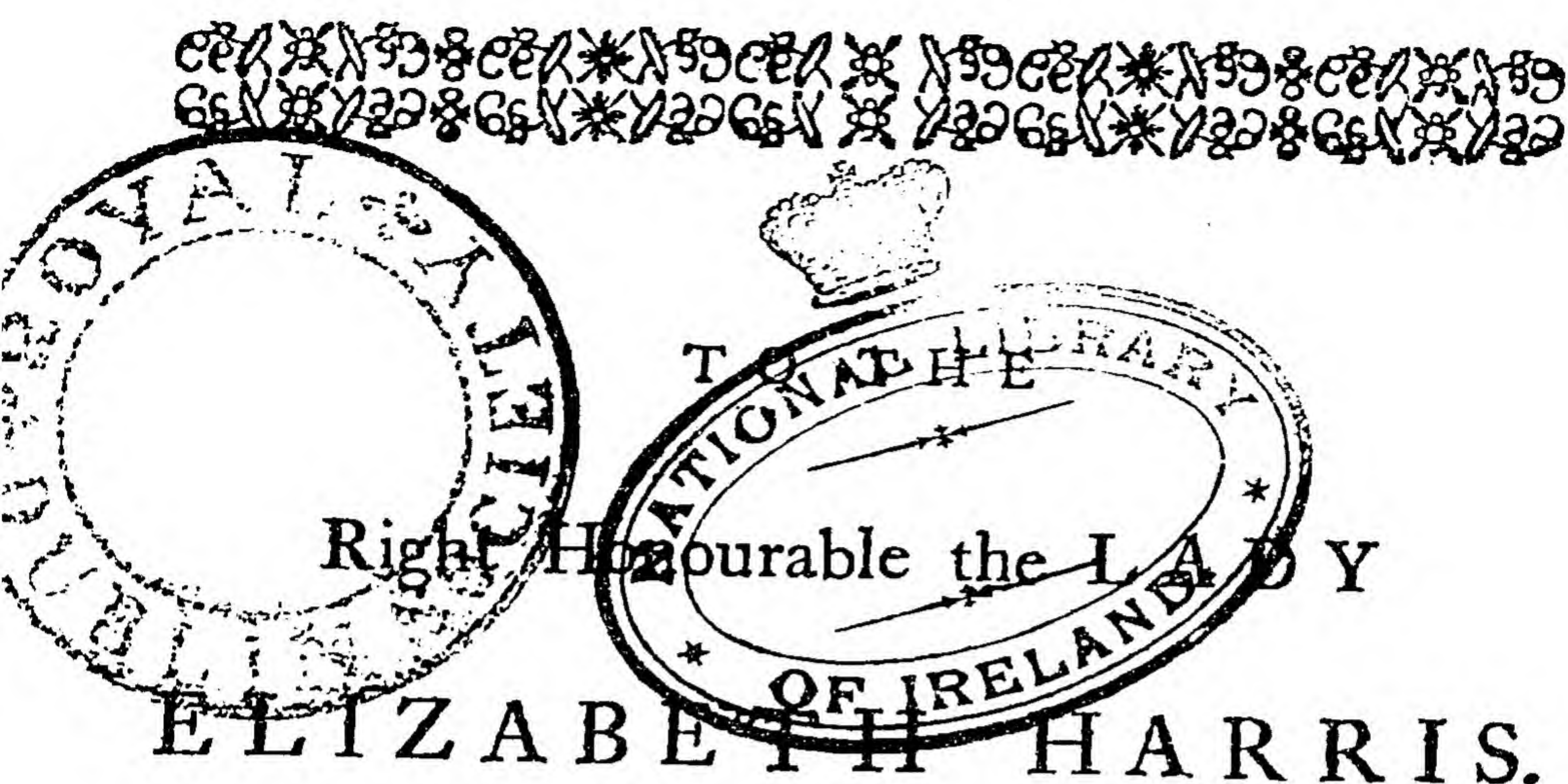
Printed for JAMES WILLIAMS, Bookseller,  
at No. 5, in SKINNER-ROW. 1772.





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*M A D A M,*

*M A N*, who is indebted to the public for leisure, and for freedom from servile employment, is under obligation to acquire knowledge; and principally in religion, policy, and the art of war. You will in probability think, that morals ought to be added to the number; but as religion may be divided into two sorts, real and political; and that real religion can by no means be disjoined from morals, it does not seem proper to mention them as a distinct head.

THE objects of the mind in real religion are the greatest in the world, the divinity, and all divine things. When the mind has imbibed a full knowledge of these to its utmost capacity, it may be said to be religious; it then sees the divinity in all things; it sees it in human nature, and in all the laws of affection and duty in its several relations; it sees it in the whole world, and in every part of it, from the highest to the lowest productions, both animate and inanimate. The religious man thinks

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himself



himself not to be *concealed from God in any of his motions*. \* True sentiments of God are the foundation of our duties to him: true knowledge of ourselves settles our duty in that respect likewise, and establishes a rule of rating the value of ourselves and others, different from that of the multitude. The dignity of the more divine part of man is asserted: † the *Cæsars, Herods, and Pilates*, the high priests, and scribes; the powerful, the rich, and the many, are of no note here. \* False opinions, and an over valuation of riches, honours, and all the other meaner concerns of life, whence all vice arises, cannot be entertained where this knowledge is. ‡ Our duty may indeed be divided into three parts, as settled by our three principal relations; to God, to other men, and to ourselves; and they may be differently termed, but they are but the main branches of the one moral science. If morals be disjoined from their relation to what is divine, and confined to a certain system of manners, contrived for the regulation of our own personal concerns of body and mind, and to guide us in our conduct amongst men, they then become something entirely different from what is before meant, and they dwindle into an *Epicurean* moral, an art of settling certain rules of behaviour upon a principle of interest, convenience, or pleasure. The case of religion is alike ill, when so disjoined from human concerns; for then is the divine Being, like *Epicurus's* divinities, confined to the highest heavens, and unconcerned in the administration of the lower world. And this, in the *Epicureans*, was but excluding providence from the world with a sort of compliment,

\* Arrian. *Epiët.* Lib. i. c. 12. 14.

† Matt. xx. 25. xxi. 23, 31. xxii. 16, &c. xxiii. 2, &c. xxvii. 20.

\* Luke, vi. 24, &c. Mat. v. 29, 30.

‡ Ench. *Epiët.* c. 37, 38, &c.



compliment, that seems to have been intended as a screen from the reproach of atheism rather than to have arisen from any real opinion of such beings: but real religion is the summit and completion of all knowledge; runs through all, and arises from collecting what is divine in all things. The fowls of the air are fed; the stature of man is limited; \* the lilies of the field are clothed by providence; without it a bird falls not to the ground, nor a hair from the head: † this is christianity, or the doctrine of our saviour; is real religion, and is not to be found but in the mind of the wise and good, and of the few who enter in at the strait gate. ‡

BUT when religion comes to be spoken of as a national establishment, it is no longer the real but makes part of the state: it has its lawful forms and ceremonies under the administration of its ministers, who are regulated by the state, and paid for their service. One may very justly think that he has but little knowledge of christianity and real religion, who does not see the evident difference: if they are the same, then were the *Ephesian* silver-smiths, \* and the *Sacheverells* of all ages, and their followers, extremely religious: for great zealots they certainly were for the political religion: but in the real they had no knowledge, and had nothing to do with it.

THE different turns that have been given to established religions, as governments have differed from each other, or changed within themselves, will serve to illustrate this distinction of religion into real and political. The *Greek* religion differed remarkably in cities and people that differed in their genius and policy. The best and bravest of the

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Greeks

\* Mat. xxvi. 26, 27, 28.

† Mat. vii. 13.

‡ Mat. x. 29.

\* Acts xix. 23.



*Greeks* applied their principal worship to the noblest and most chaste of their deities, as to *Juno* or *Pallas*: others of them, that were more tyrannical in their form of civil government, and more loose in their manners, addressed their principal worship to a *Venus*, or *Bacchus*. The same deities had a chaste and decent worship paid them in one place; and in another a more pompous one, and more loose. This partiality of particular cities and people to particular deities, as their different forms of government and genius led them, is intimated in *Homer* by the great partiality he expresses in particular deities to particular cities and people. This divine partiality reached even to private men, and differed according to their characters: one deity favoured *Achilles*; another *Ulysses*; another *Paris*: as amongst states, which are political persons, and different in characters, one deity favoured *Athens*, another *Argos*, and another *Paphos*. The *Roman* religion, by the account of their historians, \* was more plain and decent in their earlier and better times; but in the time of *Julius Cæsar* it was become full of lewdness and extravagance. Not very long after *Julius*, christianity arose; it was the real and true religion in the breasts of its few true professors, long before its name was embraced by multitudes, armies, and emperors, and so became the public religion. After this its establishment, what has been the variety of forms it has appeared in? through many changes it at last appeared in the compleat papal form, which long prevailed almost over all *Christendom*. And in this form, how many mean turns has it served? how has it been made subservient to the interest of princes and priests that were its votaries? About two hundred years ago, established christianity took another turn, and appears now in several nations

\* Plutarch's Life of Numa. Dionysius Halicar. Lib. ii.



nations in different forms. But in *England* particularly, and since the change made at the reformation, how have some of our priests used it in different turns of government? many have made it a support of the tyranny of princes, and destructive of the civil rights of men. Real christianity meanwhile is none of all these changeable establishments and human institutions, nor ever can be; but stands upon its own foot; and whether it be the religion of the multitude, and national, or not national, or whatever be the forms of it in national establishments, is one and the same in itself, firm, and unalterable, and will undoubtedly remain to the end of the world, whether owned or not owned by any public establishment indifferently.

If it can still be objected that real religion and christianity is now become the established and political religion; and that of consequence, they are the same, and not to be distinguished, I must in answer repeat, that real religion is the science of the divinity, and of all things divine; and is to be learned from the great volume of nature, as well as from scripture; as Geometry from *Euclid*; and other sciences from like means. And every man is so far knowing in a science, as he has applied his own faculties to the laws of it: for no man is master of any science by another's understanding. This, therefore, stands entirely upon private judgment, and must ever do so. Established religion is a form of public worship, chosen by the public; and its rules are prescribed by the political power, with certain persons appointed to administer in it according to those settled rules. The political power of this nation has accordingly established a form, and has provided abundantly, both for the education and maintenance of men to officiate in it; has ordered them in public discourses to instruct the people in real religion, as far as they are



capable of it ; and has appointed them the scripture, as the rule and measure of their instructions : with certain canons, articles, and rubrics, limiting times, forms, and ceremonies, farther than the scripture does ; and, in some instances, limiting likewise points of faith. But this it does modestly ; with acknowledgment of its own fallibility ; and, in consequence of this concession, it allows a liberty to dissent. Now this stands upon the public judgment of the state. When, therefore, by foreign force or intestine broils the political frame is dissolved, all this form falls to the ground. But real religion certainly cannot be said to fall with it, unless one make all religion to be merely political, and a creature of the state ; which is direct atheism. And, even while this christian form happily subsists under a quiet government, and that nine parts in ten of a whole people embrace it, certainly no real christian will say, that nine parts in ten of so great a multitude are sincere, true, and real christians ; that the common herd of men, who are under a necessity of giving their whole time to the procuring themselves necessaries ; or the men of business, who addict themselves to gain ; or the prince or grandee, who prostitutes his time to pleasure and diversion, are truly christian and religious upon principles of science. It must be owned, indeed, that the very worst and most ignorant of the multitude may have great zeal for the established religion ; and this zeal, under wicked leaders, has raised the greatest tumults and disorders amongst men, and has carried christians by profession to actions extremely unchristian and inhuman. Real and established christianity must therefore be distinct, since they never fall together, and that they subsist together but in few instances. If religion have any thing to do with science or knowledge, this must be true. But there are many, I  
fear,



fear, that strike religion out of the catalogue of sciences, and list it among the blind passions of men ; as does *Hobbs* who defines religion as a fear of power invisible, from tales publicly told. And between him and some certain managers of religion there is this difference, that he would have his civil sovereign be the only authentic teller of these tales ; and these divines would be the tellers of them themselves. Both equally enemies to the understandings of men ; but antagonists to each other about who shall hold the tyranny.

THE mention of Mr. *Hobbs* suggests likewise some assertions of his, relating to man in the state of nature, and which perhaps may not seem to be entirely foreign to the present subject. He makes the natural state of man to be a state of war and enmity against each other ; where there is no rule of just and unjust, right and wrong ; where power is the only measure of right ; and where fear, and love of power are the chief passions of men. Now, had he been describing the state of men who had long lived under a political form of government ; and who, upon the dissolution of it, had broken out into all the irregularities possible ; a prince on one side claiming a sovereignty independent upon all human authority, and his partisans supporting him with arms, without much pretence to religion, and without regard to justice or honesty ; and the chief leaders of the opposite faction, acting with as little regard to natural justice, under a mask of sanctity and religion ; he had then, indeed, made a just and natural description of such a state of man. But if he calls this the natural state of the human creature, as it came out of the hands of God, before its having lost its natural rule and law of life, before its being rendered corrupt and artificial, it seems evidently absurd. But Mr. *Hobbs* may be excused ; for, as he charges the antient  
writers



writers of politics with copying their political schemes from the antient commonwealth, so he plainly copied his picture of the human mind, and of his commonwealth, from his own mind, and from the state of things as he had seen them in those confused times, which had undoubtedly made that unfortunate impression of fear upon his mind, and gave it so wrong a turn. But if one consider every species of creatures in the world, there is a certain natural rule and law of life belongs to each, with respect to their food and sustenance, to their living in herds, or otherwise, to their defence against beasts that are naturally their enemies, to the sounds they are to express their fears, their pains, their wants, and their pleasures by ; with respect to their places of rest, and to the whole œconomy of their young. Our common cattle, when wild, and in their natural state, have a natural rule in all these several respects. They affect each other's company, and accordingly they herd ; and when they are grazing, if a beast of prey appear, \* *the bull issues out for the sake of the herd* : Or † when they are attacked by man, there's a general motion amongst them ; whilst the bulls advance, and place themselves in front against their adversaries, the cows range themselves behind their males, and the young retire behind all. They understand each other's sounds, and are affectionately careful of their young. This natural frame of passions in each species of animals distinguishes the kinds and the sexes ; and the characters of the several animals are as much constituted by this inward form, as they are distinguished by the outward : the lion and the tyger are both creatures of prey ; but in the character of the lion 'tis said that man has observed  
a sort

\* Arrian. Epiet. l. i. c. 2.

† Dampier. Vol. II. Part ii. Page 99.



a ‡ sort of generosity and gratitude, that is not in the other. The elephant is entirely different from both the last mentioned ; and has a character particular to itself : and so of all other creatures. The human creature, without doubt, has likewise from nature its inward frame, and a certain rule of life accordingly. If the words right and wrong, just and unjust, be only applicable to the arbitrary limitations of property, made by men already formed into a political society, so let them be ? they are then not to be applied to the natural state. But, if in the instance before, the bull should desert its part, and take the station of the cow or calf ; if the cow should devour the young ; or the calf should fear its own species, be averse to it, and herd with goats or sheep ; one might be allowed to say, that this would be erring from the rule of nature ; one might call it deformed, ugly, unnatural and monstrous, as a steady adherence to this rule might be called beautiful, comely, natural, and being true to its part. Beauty and deformity are not more evidently applicable to the outward form, than to this inward one. Then, as to the character of the human creature in its natural state, without doing great wrong to ourselves in that state, and violence to our judgment in this, we cannot but think that we should naturally be as great lovers of each others company as any other creature whatever ; and, of consequence, should herd, and be social, ready to hazard ourselves for others of our kind, and for our young. It is not easy to imagine that we should be naturally savage and cruel : we should certainly have a horror and aversion to the feeding upon warm flesh and blood of expiring creatures, which some animals do with pleasure : we should as certainly loath and avoid the  
fight



sight and smell of rotten carcases, which is the delight of others; our food would be of another kind: we should certainly have as great an affection to our young, as any other creature has to theirs: we should certainly be as sagacious as any, in providing either in common, or otherwise, for all our little needs in that state, and, perhaps, a great deal more than any other. But what our natural language would be; what our food would consist of; how the order and rule between male and female, with respect to themselves and to their young, would then stand, both as to the continuance and manner of that particular relation; these are things that are not to be limited with any certainty now. But, on the whole, it seems evident enough, that we are naturally a mild, gentle, sociable, and † compassionate creature. Ambition, and grasping at high posts in the state, and our present artificial set of passions, and the barbarous transgressions of rule and order that have followed upon them, belong not to that state of things. This natural state of ours, was the golden age of the antient heathen world; and if the account that *Moses* gives us of paradise before the fall be allegory, and not fact, as Dr. *Burnet* in his *Archæologia* asserts, our natural state was certainly represented by that allegory. Besides, there seems to be little reason to doubt, but that men under civil government would be as manageable by their magistrates, as flocks and herds by their pastors and shepherds, were it not for the vice and ignorance of such human herdsmen and pastors; did but they, as *Xenophon* says, act their part with understanding and skill. And then, even upon the dissolution of government, and things being brought to confusion, as there is in all things a beautiful rule and order set by nature, so here would there be still a rule. The arrogant

† *Cyropæd.*



rogant, the proud, ambitious, such as thought all their fellow-creatures made to serve their ends, would act without regard to religion, to faith, to all that was excellent and beautiful; and the extent of their power would be their only measure: but perhaps a few would still be faithful, modest, brave, humane, and religious, and would act or suffer handsomely: at least there would be an evident difference in the characters of men so left to themselves, in proportion to their sense of this natural and divine rule, and as this was preserved untainted in their minds, and not sullied or obliterated by vile and unnatural sentiments and passions.

By what has been before said, it may be decided, whether the independence of religion upon civil government may be justly claimed, or no. The thing decides itself plainly: real religion is a mental thing; \* *It is not here nor there, but within us; † It is not of this world.* Or had it been so, our Saviour had made an appeal to arms, and to the powers of this world. It is absolutely independent, and has nothing to do with the magistrate: it is a thing of a noble nature, and its truths are yet less subject to political jurisdiction, than mathematical truths, which it would be ridiculous to say, that the magistrate ought to decide in. But to say that the government has nothing to do with the national religion, which itself established and made national, seems very absurd: and for the ministers, whose forms are prescribed them by the political power, whose privileges are limited by the same, who are indebted to the public for their education and maintenance; to say, that they are independent upon it, seems a little arrogant. It is, undoubtedly, proper that every nation should have their artists in religious concerns, as the ‡ *Persians* had; but if these men assert, that they are the  
last

\* Luke xvii. 21.

† John xviii. 36.

‡ Cyropædia.



last resort in affairs of religion, let the priesthood consist of those who, of all the proprietors of the territory, are most venerable for nobility of birth, for wisdom, for years passed with untainted integrity ; these will be better directors than the necessitous, the mean of birth, the unwise, and the young ; but can be no more than proposers and helps to men in their choice ; the last resort remains still with the choosers.

WHEN the public, therefore, has chosen its religion, which must be done, both that it may discharge its own duty, and to prevent the multitude's being left undirected, and at the mercy of superstition and every private guide, it may then be asked whether this religious establishment ought to be imposed upon all private men ? that it may be imposed by power is certain ; for the magistrates and multitude, or the absolute monarch and his army, after having made their own choice, may act in this as they please. If they are heathen, they may impose the worship of plurality of gods : if they are turks or jews they may oblige a man to deny our Saviour to be the Christ and son of God : if corrupt pretenders to christianity, they may oblige one to say that christianity is what it is not : and they may, any of them, if they please, oblige one to say, that there are no antipodes ; that eclipses will not happen according to astronomical observations ; that the three angles of a triangle are not equal to two right ones ; or, upon refusal, they may inflict punishment at will. But will and power are often used unjustly and unwisely. The papacy is well known to use this imposing power ; and *Hobbs*, who is a passionate advocate of arbitrary power, recommends this use of it in his *Leviathan*. But there seems not to be much justice or humanity, and as little of christianity in the practice. And with respect to these impositions in affairs of religion, and the misery that ever attends them, the case seems to be



be this : that they are not the original cause of misery and confusion, but the corrupt effects only of the dissolution or imperfection of political forms of government, or of ignorance and vice in princes. For, if a decent form of religion be established by the political power, there will be but few that will be dissenting from it ; and a liberty in this kind is what the generosity, justice, and benignity of good governments will always allow. But, if the political orders are broken, and the multitude deprived of their orderly guidance and leading, they then form themselves into separate herds, as ignorance, superstition, and corrupt interests lead them ; and fall foul of one another. And this is the fertile soil of tyranny : hence sprung the *Cæsars*, the *Mahomets*, the *Popes*, and the *Cromwells* : creatures of multitudes, that have been destitute of the blessing of just and wise political orders. And in such circumstances of men, the laws of justice and humanity find no place. So that when men hear of strange absurdities imposed, and great cruelties practised in consequence of them, instead of venting a great deal of wrath against the craft and wickedness of priests, they ought rather to lament the distempers that societies of men are subject to. As for instance : The *Romans* were a society of men formed from a collection of thieves and plunderers ; who, when they had fixed themselves a habitation, made it a sponge to collect criminals of all sorts, and such as were too vile to subsist under their own governments. The way that their historians took to render their original divine, was, by relating that the god of war debauched a priestess professing chastity : from this conjunction of war and violence with unchastity, and breach of religious profession, there came the two youths, that sucked the milk of a female beast of prey : one of these youths murdered the other, and founded *Rome*. However this fable may have been

taken



taken as a compliment, it looks like the artful contrivance of some *Greek*, to give, under this disguise, a character of the *Roman* state. This city, thus formed, proceeded upon its first principles, and made its progress by plunder and rapine; had little else in its frame, but was what military: their booty and conquests were distributed, indeed, but never justly, even under what they call their commonwealth. \* The common people were generally abused and cheated in it, though there were perpetually quarrels about their dividends. And as this city, at last, enslaved almost the whole world, so it destroyed everything that carried the face of civil government. Then it corrupted still further within itself, and changed into a monstrous tyranny. Letters, arts, and sciences sunk throughout the world. Then, when this tyranny corrupted and decayed, the ecclesiastical levity began to raise its head; and when it fell quite to pieces, and became divided into several parts independent upon each other, the ecclesiastical republic asserted its dominion over all; and in the midst of these ruins formed its independent policy. When, therefore, the corruption of civil governments, and the ignorance of princes, has given existence to such forms, can it be expected that men should be false to their own public? can it be thought that men who are trained up from their youth in a certain order and form, distinct from the civil, without dependence upon it, or expectations of honours or rewards, but in degrees and orders of their own, and under their own governors, should act for an establishment foreign to their own? When they must know that their own foundations stand upon the ruin of civil forms, and must owe their continuance to the depression of them? men's zeal in this case is not to be wondered at. If they who are in the civil interest will entirely discharge

\* Plutarch. Vid. Numa.



charge themselves of the noblest knowledge in the world, of all judgment in what is pleasing or displeasing to God, and will leave the sovereign decision in these matters to others; it is certainly just that they to whom these matters are thus left, should prescribe to those who are thus abandoned to ignorance; should tell them how to behave in their families; how to govern their own persons; how to act in converse and dealings with others; how to act in the public; and should dictate to them in all things. And the particular policy of these divines ought, with still more reason, to be left entirely to themselves. Some nations have, indeed, protested against this hierarchy; and in most others there is a greater disposition to judge for themselves, than is pleasing to the ecclesiastics. Letters, science, and arts have, within these two or three centuries, revived. But if the civil forms, that are now established in the world, moulder away to nothing, by means of the corruption and ignorance of the managers, the ecclesiastics will justly become their masters. For, as *Cyrus* says, \* “God has so established things, that  
 “they who will not impose upon themselves the task  
 “of labouring for their own advantage, shall have  
 “other task-masters given them.” Supposing, then, that the ecclesiastics have reduced the rest of men to their obedience, as every the meanest priest is entitled to rise to the highest dignities; and, when admitted to his freedom in the hierarchy, is not debarred from knowledge and letters, as those of the laity are; as their monarch and grandees are elective, and not hereditary; and the absolute sovereignty is not lodged in the single person, but that their general councils claim a share with him in it; the body of them ought then to take care that their own chiefs do not affect a tyranny over them, and serve them as *Cæsar* did *Rome*. And then if the virtue of their frame be preserved till after they have broken



the lay-interest to pieces, they may then, perhaps, assume the sword into their own hands, as the templars, who were an order amongst them, were once possessed of it ; and may come to think it fit to transmit the property of the world to their own children, and not choose their successors from amongst the children of their servants and vassals. This will be the spring of a new civil interest, much wiser than that upon whose ruins it is built ; and it will continue so, while the ingenuous and free cultivate knowledge, and hold the sword. But let them once give up knowledge, and drop the sword into the hands of hirelings, they must submit to the consequence of having their servants become their masters. The priesthood, thus supposed masters of the world, may then, perhaps, divide themselves into distinct governments, by distinct territories. And though they are not now so divided, yet they ought, in truth, to be accounted a civil government within themselves, distinct from all others. And if one consider the share of property and revenue that they are possessed of in the several countries of *Europe*, they will be found to be a very great and powerful state. Mean while it matters not what the things are that are imposed upon men, who give up their judgments in the greatest concerns ; for even truths published for men's belief, when received without knowledge and understanding, are no better than tales and forgeries.

As religion is divided into two heads of science, so may virtue be divided into several ; as, for instance, into real, political, and military, as well as others. The real falls under the head of morals, and real religion ; and is one and the same thing under several names. But temperance, with respect to eating and drinking, to be able to deny one's self one's usual rest, ability to undergo toil and labour, to sleep in open air, contempt of danger and death ; these



these are military virtues, may arise from custom and institution, or from necessity, or from ambition, and may be the virtues of robbers and pyrates. The hero in the following papers will give you cause to think of this distinction, particularly in his speech when he is grown a man, and is setting out upon his \* *Median* expedition, as well as upon many other occasions.

WHAT is here sent you to take up some hours of your leisure, relates to religion, as well as to politics and war, though this last seems to be the chief subject of it.

As to politics, the account given of the *Medes* and *Assyrians*, the luxury and effeminacy of the *Median* court, the absolute dependence of all upon the prince's will, the effeminacy and meanness of the people, the poorness of their military discipline, the manner of protecting the territory by fortresses and garrisons, the waste of lands upon the borders inhabited only by wild beasts, shew the nature of arbitrary governments. The noble orders established amongst the *Persians*, the education of the ingenuous among them, the rights of sovereignty lodged in a public council, and laws of public weal established as guides both to prince and people, bravery in the people, and wisdom in their military discipline, shew the virtue and power of free governments. There seems indeed to be something in the story that suggests this defect to be in the *Persian* frame ; that the free, the ingenuous, the gentlemen, the noble, (call them by which name you please,) are reduced to too little a number ; and too small a number of great ones commonly implies their riches to be too great with respect to the rest of the people : or if the riches and power of the gentleman be but inconsiderable, and that the people have them not, then the prince remains too weighty in the scale, and the rest are but dependents and servants.



Now in either of these cases, the ambition of great families, or that of the single one, always prevents the division of the riches and estates amongst greater numbers, and presses on to further increase, till the few become yet fewer, or the single one yet greater ; and at last, either the prince, or one of the over-grown few, by riches and numerous dependents, assumes the tyranny : then to him all become servants, his will is then the only law : he must hold his power by an army ; and to compleat all, must hold his own head at the will of that army. This shews the folly of the abettors of arbitrary sway, who pronounce it to be so vile a thing, for the prince to be said to hold his power at the will of the multitude. Whereas the prince must of necessity hold at the will of a multitude. For supposing him to have destroyed the interest of the honest multitude, who were in possession of the lands and commerce of a country, and to have subjected their power by means of an army, he must then of necessity hold his own power at the will of that multitude of mercenaries. Whoever knows any thing of the story of the *Roman* and *Turkish* armies and emperors, and considers the nature of things, must see [that an absolute prince is a creature and servant of a military multitude, and ever comes uppermost when the mercenary crew have destroyed the civil power. So that in politics the voice of the people is the voice of God, and multitude must and will be the last resort here. \* *Julius Cæsar*, and all the able attempters of tyranny in the antient world, understood their art too well to be ignorant of this, and accordingly they laid themselves out entirely in the culture and service of their armies, and of such part of the civil multitude as were most corrupt and necessitous ; their own private

\* Dionys. Halicar. upon Aristodemus, Lib. vii. Suetonius, Lib. i.



vate fortunes were entirely sacrificed to this. All that they acquired by conquest, was applied to this; as well as all that they could plunder from their governments and fellow citizens; for upon this did their sovereignty depend. *Octavius* the nephew and heir of *Julius*, could not entirely gain his point, till by little arts of his own, and by the folly of his competitors, the most and best of the legions were brought to declare for him, and to establish him sovereign. Where therefore was the last resort and foundation of sovereignty in this case? It belongs only to the poor pedantic modern patrons of tyranny, who mix religion and politics together, to talk of sovereignty by divine right, \* independent upon human authority, and accountable only to God; and it belongs only to very weak and conceited affectors of tyranny to give ear to such poor instructors. There is no manner of doubt but that it has been one of the most common arts of tyranny to bring heaven and all that is sacred upon earth into its interest! † *Pisistratus*, when restored to the tyranny at *Athens*, dressed up a woman to personate the goddess *Pallas*, as if the goddess favoured him so far as to introduce him, and attend in her own person at his restoration. *Julius Cæsar* in an oration he made at the funeral of an aunt, derived himself by his grand-mother, from *Ancus*, one of the kings of *Rome*; and by his father from the goddess *Venus*. After his death, and at the celebration of the first honours paid him as a god, a blazing star appeared, which was given out and by some believed to be the soul of *Julius*, received into heaven among the deities. Others of the *Roman* monarchs were likewise deified; so that the elder *Vespasian* made a jest of it; and when he was taken violently ill, he cried out, *I believe I am going to be a god*. A multitude of things of this kind might be mentioned. There is a natural gratitude in the people to

\* Clarendon's History.

† Herodotus, Lib. i.



the descendants of those that have been benefactors to men, or are thought to have been so ; and a natural deference to superior and divine powers ; and erectors of tyranny who have had neither knowledge of God, nor regard to him themselves, nor love to man, always act the impostors ; and abuse and play upon the understandings and passions of the multitude. The claim of divine right is the modern art ; and princes would undoubtedly have still more divinity and sanctity bestowed upon them, as they had in old days, if the ecclesiastics were not competitors with them in it, and could spare it from themselves. But even these frauds can never be of any effect, if they fail of their intended influence upon the people. *Cæsar* therefore trusted to other means : he never talked so idly of sovereignty, protection, and obedience, as some modern dealers in politics, \* who confounded themselves and others with these words. *Cæsar's* empire, and that of *Cyrus*, mentioned in the following papers, were not built upon such foundations. Absolute sovereignty is never applicable to a prince whether at the head of a legal government, or of a tyranny. For in a legal government, the prince has law for his rule, as well as the people ; his property and rights are limited by that rule ; and so are those of the people. The laws and orders of government are the protection both of prince and people : but if the prince affect to be absolute sovereign and lord of all, he must nurse up and cultivate a body of soldiery sufficient for the work, and unite them in interest with him to dissolve the legal frame : then, if he succeeds, the people are indeed protected ; as the people of *Turkey* are protected ; and as the people of *Rome* were under their emperors ; and the army becomes the prince's protection ; and in reality sovereign. But how such sovereignty differs from tyranny ; how such protection differs from power to oppress ; and how such obedience and sub-  
jection

\* Clarendon's History.



jection differs from servitude, can never be made out. And as tyrannies rise thus in a particular state : so great empires, that are but extended tyrannies, make their way through the world by the vice and impotence of neighbouring states. Whereas, by order within themselves, friendship and good faith with each other, little states repel the impotent attacks of great empires that are powerful only by the vice and weakness of their neighbours. Such hints in the course of this story, and the observations that may be made upon them, seem to me to let one more into political knowledge, than most of the books and pamphlets that are now written upon that subject.

THE advices given, with respect to the art of war, are obvious ; and with all their plainness are more than most of our present military men now think of.

AND the few instructions with respect to the established religion and the priests of those days, are not unapplicable to our present times. Nor can it be said but that the spirit of piety and deference to superior powers which runs through the whole, though blended with the established rights, does in some measure relate to religion, and must needs be pleasing to those who have a sense of it.

THE following papers contain a plain translation of the *Cyropædia* or institution of *Cyrus*, written by *Xenophon*, who lived about four hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, in an age productive of great men ; though it was the age in which expired those noble forms of government, to which all future ages are indebted for literature, and all noble knowledge. He saw the republics of *Greece*, after their brave defence against the *Persian* power in the age before, by wars amongst themselves nursed up a brood of mercenaries to be their own destruction, which was completed by *Philip* of



*Macedon* at the battle of *Charonea*. He was a friend and disciple of *Socrates*, that great man who was a remarkable instance of what is before observed \* with respect to the consequences of broken governments ; for he fell a sacrifice to faction ; and one of his accusations was a disregard to the established religion, he who had evidently the utmost regard to real religion, had as much knowledge of it as was possible ; and was ever strictly observant of the established forms : his disciple *Xenophon* felt likewise the displeasure of his countrymen the *Athenians*, for his partiality to the interests of *Sparta*, and of consequence for not favouring the turbulent, ambitious measures that his own city approved. *Xenophon* was extremely beautiful in his person ; † and had great modesty and goodness of temper. He was a man of great knowledge and learning ; but it was of an ingenuous, noble, gentleman like sort, not sedentary, nor pedantic, and not servile, as all learning may justly be called that is acquired to get money or maintenance by ; he was a great master of political and military skill ; he was extremely religious, and very knowing in all the established rights and ceremonies, of which he was a strict observer upon all occasions. The precept he puts into the mouth of *Cambyses* father of *Cyrus*, never to engage in any action without consulting the gods, makes a remarkable passage in his book to this purpose. He puts several cases wherein men had sadly miscarried by means of neglect in this kind, and though he do not name persons, yet it seems evident that he had his eye to particular men well known to himself and to his countrymen in those days. And what he says of certain persons who had engaged their country in ruinous wars, seems evidently meant of *Alcibiades*, who had engaged

\* Page 16.

† Diog. Laer. Life of *Xenophon*.



gaged the *Athenians* in other wars, as well as particularly that of *Sicily* ; \* which brought destruction or servitude upon all such of them as were personally engaged in that service, and in the consequence occasioned the loss of their government and city. *Alcibiades* was likewise very beautiful in his person, was undoubtedly master of many civil arts ; had eloquence, bravery, and military skill : but with respect to religion and virtue, he was the reverse of *Xenophon* ; he had no sense of it, but was what one may justly call a free-thinker of those days, and expressed it by a contempt of what his country held sacred. *Xenophon's* manner of pointing him out thus, allowing the application to be just, seems a direct charge upon him of impiety ; and history sufficiently justifies that charge.

As free-thinking is an expression that has caused some discourse in the world, and may admit of different senses ; perhaps you will not think it improper that some mention should be made of it. It may signify a roving exercise of the mind, running over all or any of the subjects of science idly and superficially without binding itself to any settled judgment of the truth of things, as if there were no such thing as a rule of truth in nature. So liberty in government may be defined a liberty to act as will and humour guides without regard to justice or law ; as if there was no such thing as justice to limit man in his conduct. *Julius Cæsar* said, † that his words were to be taken for laws ; that *commonwealth and public good was nothing ; a mere name ; without body or form.* ‡ Virtue, say the free thinkers of this sort, is a mere word, as, *a sacred grove is only a sanctified expression for a parcel of sticks.* But true political liberty consists in a strict severe obedience

\* Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades.

† Suetonius Jul. Cæs.

‡ Horace Epist. 6. lib. i.



dience to just and equal laws, and orders, established for the public good ; and it is called liberty as it excludes dependence upon will and pleasure which is tyranny. So just freedom of thought is true science, which consists in the necessary determination of the understanding to the truth of things, when every means of discovering it has had its due weight in order to make the evidence complete and the decision just. But then, if any one thing affect the mind above its due proportion, the impression it makes prevents the mind's submission to truth. And if the impression be very great, it causes madness and establishes a tyranny in the mind ; to which the overgrown power of a prince or grandees in the state may be compared as distraction and madness in government. Admiration of riches, of grandeur, of beauty of person, and other strong impressions, tyrannize often in men's minds, obstruct right judgments in religion and morals, and cause wrong practice ; and love, grief, or fear, when excessive, overturns the sound constitution of a mind ; and soundness and consistence of mind may be called freedom, as it excludes this tyranny of passion. As passion is a domestic oppression of liberty of mind, so are there a sort of foreign oppressors of it. These are the *Hobbists* and the favourers of ecclesiastical tyranny. No real religion in the world say these men ; no rule of right, or public good in the state ; no virtue in man ; but all depends upon tales authorized and laws imposed by power and will. Now true freedom of thought here is to assert a providence, wisdom and intelligence in the world ; a rule and order in societies of men upon the bottom of public good ; virtue and worth in man ; and a rule of truth in all things, which to discover is man's wisdom ; and to follow is in his virtue, freedom and happiness. But the abettors of freethinking now  
a-days,



a-days, seem to be men who having got a few steps above the bigotry of the poor multitude, are transported out of themselves, \* exult at their own imagined elevation, look down upon the rest of men as wandering in the paths of error ; and this they do with pleasure. † They address themselves with *Lucretius* to their goddess *Venus*, and her attendant pleasures, and cultivate them in a vicious way ; they ridicule what the public holds sacred ; they represent religion as a spectre oppressing the minds of men ; and exclude deity from the world. These answer to the antient *Epicureans* ; though none of them perhaps are equal to their patron *Epicurus*, who seemed to have more worth and goodness than was consistent with his own maxims. § There was in antient times another sort of men who between the assertors of providence and virtue on one side, and the abettors of atheism and pleasure on the other, opposed both of them in their opinions and in the proofs they brought to establish them. These were the sceptics ; and they maintained a total suspense of opinion, and absence of passion. † They were men of great ability in reasoning ; and seemed to have laboured so much in the culture of that art, that they lost sight of truth and certainty. There may have been perhaps in our times certain free-thinkers, affected mimics of these men ; but they seem to be far short of them in their intense application of mind. These modern sceptics would scarce let their hair and nails grow like *Carneades*, ‡ nor be in danger of being over-run by chariots, torn by dogs, or falling down precipices

\* *Lucretius Lib. ii. V. 7.*

† *Ibid. Lib. i. V. 1, &c. V. 63. 79.*

§ *Cicero Jus. Quest. Lib. ii.*

† *Diog. Laert. Pyrrho,*

‡ *Diog. Laert.*



precipices without minding or avoiding it like *Pyrrho*. They are rather loose rovers through various opinions, sincere in none ; using any opinion to defeat a contrary one ; borrowing arguments from the atheists to oppose the religionist, and borrowing from the religionist to defeat the atheist and *Epicurean* ; adversaries at times to all. This is so far from strict application of mind, that it is an idle and dissolute prostitution of it ; and may be compared to the behaviour of such men in the state who favour neither one scheme nor another, nor close with any interest sincerely, nor are sincerely neuter ; but as it serves their turn are occasionally zealous for every party, which is prostitution in politics. This turn of mind has the same effect in private life, it acts the frolicsome, the burlesque, and the gay ; the sober, the serious, the austere ; the religious and the profane, as humour guides, or as there is a turn to serve. It maintains no one genuine personage, but has a different mask for every different scene ; and it regards neither justice nor truth. This is prostitution of another kind ; and prostitution of person completes the corrupt character. \* *Alcibiades* and *Julius Cæsar* had their share of this character. And to instance in one a degree inferior to these, *Menon* was of this sort ; one who was an officer that attended the younger *Cyrus* in his expedition against his brother *Artaxerxes*, and who is thus characterised by *Xenophon*. “ He was a passionate lover of money ; he “ loved power and command that he might get by “ it ; and he loved honours in order still to make “ the more advantage. He affected the friendship “ of men in power to escape the punishment of his “ injustice. He thought that the shortest way “ to gain his ends was by perjury, falsehood “ and deceit. Simplicity and truth he thought “ the

\* Plutarch, Suetonius.



“ the same with folly : he apparently loved no  
“ one. Whoever he professed himself a friend to  
“ he was continually plotting mischief against.  
“ He contemned no enemy, but conversed always  
“ in such a manner with his friends as if he ri-  
“ diculed and laughed at them. He formed no  
“ designs to seize the possessions of his enemies ;  
“ for he thought it difficult to prey upon such as  
“ were upon their guard ; but he thought himself  
“ the only person who knew that it was the easiest  
“ thing in the world to seize the unguarded pos-  
“ sessions of his friends. Those that he observed  
“ to be unjust and regardless of oaths he feared as  
“ men well prepared and armed. Men of piety  
“ and truth, as weak and unmanly, he endeavour-  
“ ed to make his uses of. The pleasure that an-  
“ other takes in religion, truth and justice, he took  
“ in being able to deceive, in falsehood, and ridi-  
“ culing his friends. The man, who was not a  
“ knave, he thought ignorant and silly. Those,  
“ with whom he affected to be a chief favourite,  
“ he thought he was to gain by calumniating their  
“ chief friends. His contrivance to render his sol-  
“ diers obedient to him, was to share with them in  
“ their crimes. He required respect and service by  
“ shewing that it was both in his power and in his  
“ will to do injuries. When any one had renounced  
“ his friendship, he declared, that it was an act of  
“ bounty in him, that while he used him as a friend,  
“ he did not ruin him. He lived in an infamous  
“ commerce with one *Thurypas*, who was older  
“ than himself ; and was himself a prostitute in his  
“ youth to the *Barbarian Ariceus*.”

THIS treatise of the institution of *Cyrus* is un-  
doubtedly fabulous. The *Iliad* and *Odyssæid* of *Homer*  
are fables likewise ; though of another kind. And  
there is certainly no more pretence to truth or fact,  
in this of *Xenophon*, than those of *Homer* ; yet the  
whole



whole of it is so true to nature, that it may be said to be almost as natural as if it were really fact, and of consequence is instructive; and perhaps more instructive than what is called real history; there being very little of that which is not abundantly more false to fact than these antient fables are to nature. There is indeed a plainness and simplicity in this piece of *Xenophon* that may seem childish and contemptible to some judgments. But what our Saviour said to his disciples, when he placed a child in the midst of them, *unless you become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven*; \* and what he says in another place, *When the Eye is single, the whole body is full of light*, † may be applied to the disposition of the mind, with respect to all other good knowledge as well as with respect to religion. Your disposition of mind is thus chaste and single, and you therefore will perhaps not be displeased with this.

THERE have been some who have imagined, that the establishments made by *Xenophon's Cyrus*, are a model of perfect government. Others, however, will reckon that *Cyrus* is no more proposed as a model to be followed, than *Achilles* is in the *Iliad* of *Homer*. The wrathful great man and the effects of his wrath, are plainly seen in the *Iliad*; and the ambitious great man, and the effects of his ambition, are as plainly to be seen in the *Cyreid*. The arts that *Cyrus* used with private men, and with whole nations, in order to gain them for his purpose, were certainly right; but this does not prove that that purpose of his was honest. In like manner all his regulations with respect to the establishment of his scheme of tyranny were as certainly rightly contrived to serve that end; but yet this is no proof that such tyranny is not a most unjust, unequal and barbarous establishment. And when the  
foundation

\* Mat. xviii. 3. xix. 14.

† Mat. vi. 22.



foundation and rise of the empire of *Cyrus* is directly ascribed to a free government; when his own education under such a government appears to be the foundation of all the virtue that he has; and when the effects of this empire erected, are declared to be a general defection from all virtue in the people, and the misery of the prince's own family; then let any one judge, whether the moral of this fable of *Xenophon's* does decide in favour of tyranny.

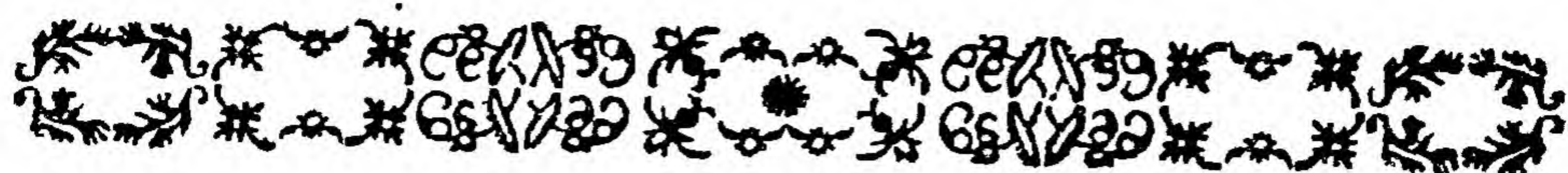
I know the affectionate concern you have for the liberty of your country; which you value, that the integrity and simplicity of human minds may be protected, and not overborn by tyrannical impositions, or debauched by imposture, that they may be kept as the chaste spouse of divine truth; and that innocence and virtue may not be violated by the ungoverned passions of the mighty; I know the joy you ever expressed for your country's successes in a just war. You will therefore allow this to be my excuse, for thinking these subjects not improper to entertain you with. I cannot but believe that even the statesman, the soldier, the divine, and the learned in the law of our present age, would readily excuse the addressing these matters to a lady, when they should consider that this is but the translation (and indeed pretends to be no very good one) of a book where these subjects are treated in a childish romantic way, and not so suitable to their understandings. They will be little concerned that such an author should recommend the sciences and arts of war and government, of justice and religion, to the study of the gentleman. For, by means of ignorance in these things, the gentleman is rendered incapable of judging whether the mercenary in these professions do their duty for their money; the noblest arts are thus left to the mercenary alone, and they become the guides and governors of the world.

*CYROPÆDIA:*









# CRROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

CRRU S.

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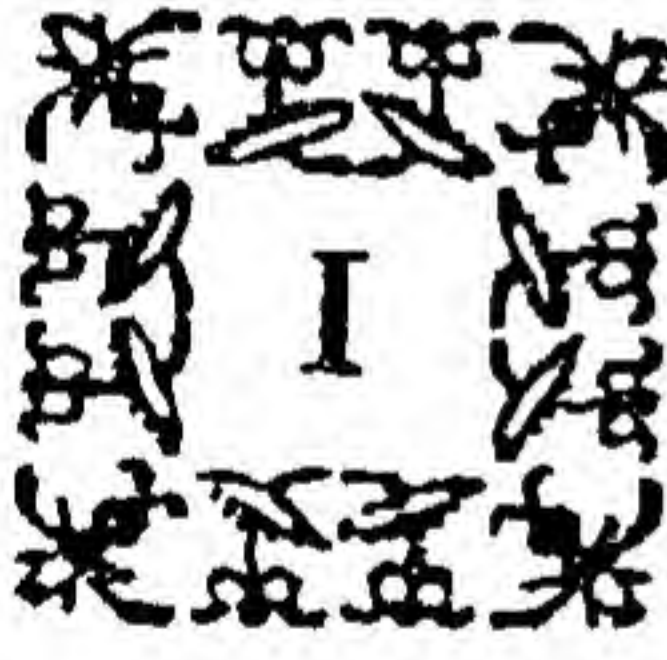
By XENOPHON.

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BOOK I.

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 I HAVE heretofore considered how many popular governments have been dissolved by men who chose to live under any other sort of government rather than the popular ; and how many monarchies, and how many oligarchies have been destroyed by the people ; and how many of those who have attempted tyrannies, have, some of them, been instantly and entirely destroyed ; and others, if they have continued reigning but for any time, have been admired as able, wise, and happy men. And I thought I observed many masters in their own private houses, some possessing more servants, some but very few, who yet were not able to preserve those few entirely



obedient to their commands. I considered withal that keepers of oxen, and keepers of horses, are as it were the magistrates and rulers of those oxen and horses; and in general all those called pastors or herdsmen may be properly accounted the magistrates of the animals they rule. I saw, I thought, all these several Herds more willing to obey their pastors, than men their magistrates. For these herds go the way that their keepers direct them; they feed on those lands upon which their keepers throw them; and they abstain from those from which their keepers drive them; they suffer their keepers to make what use they please of the fruits and profits that arise from them: Besides I never did perceive a herd conspiring against its keepers, either so as not to obey them, or so as not to allow them the use of the fruits arising from them. Herds are rather more refractory towards any others, than they are towards their rulers, and those who make profit of them; but men conspire against none sooner, than against those, whom they perceive undertaking the government of them. When these things were in my mind, I came to this judgment upon them: That to man, it was easier to rule every other sort of creature, than to rule man. But when I considered that there was the *Persian Cyrus*, who had rendered many men, many cities and many nations, obedient to himself; upon this I was necessitated to change my opinion, and to think that the government of men was not amongst the things that were impossible, nor amongst the things that are difficult, if one undertook it with understanding and skill. I knew there were those that willingly obeyed *Cyrus*, who were many days journey distant from him; those who were months; those who had never seen him; and those who knew very well that they never should see him; yet would they submit to his government. For he so far excelled all other kings,  
both



both those that received their dominion by succession, as well as those that acquired it themselves, that the *Scythian* (for example) though his people be very numerous, has not been able to obtain the dominion of any other nation; but rests satisfied, if he hold but the rule of his *own*; the *Thracian* the same; the *Illyrian* the same; and other nations (as I have heard) the same. For the nations of *Europe* are said to be yet sovereign and independent of each other. But *Cyrus*, finding in like manner the nations of *Asia* sovereign and independent, and, setting forward with a little army of *Persians*, obtained the dominion of the *Medes* by their own choice and voluntary submission; of the *Hircanians* the same. He conquered the *Syrians*, *Assyrians*, *Arabs*, *Capadocians*, both *Phrygis*, the *Lydians*, *Carians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Babylonians*. He ruled the *Bactrians*, *Indians*, and *Cilicians*; in like manner the *Sacians*, *Paphlagonians*, and *Megadinians*, and many other nations, whose names one cannot enumerate: He ruled the *Greeks* that were settled in *Asia*; and, descending to the sea, the *Cyprians* and *Ægyptians*. These nations he ruled, though their languages differed from his own and from each other; and yet was he able to extend the fear of himself over so great a part of the world, as to astonish all, and that no one attempted any thing against him. He was able to inspire all with so great a desire of pleasing him, that they even desired to be governed by his opinion and will. He connected together so many nations, as would be a labour to enumerate, to whatsoever point one undertook to direct one's course, whether it were east, west, north, or south, setting out from his palace and seat of empire. With respect therefore to this man, as worthy of admiration, I have enquired by what birth, with what natural disposition, and under what discipline and education bred, he so much excelled in the art of governing men. And whatever



I have learned, or think I know concerning him, I shall endeavour to relate.

*Ch. 2* *CYRUS* is said to be descended from *Cambyfes* king of the *Persians*, as his father *Cambyfes* was of the race of the *Perseidæ*, who were so called from *Perseus*. It is agreed that he was born of a mother called *Mandane*; and *Mandane* was the daughter of *Astyages* king of the *Medes*. *Cyrus* is said to have had by nature a most beautiful person, and a mind of the greatest benignity and love to mankind, most desirous of knowledge, and most ambitious of glory; so as to bear any pain, and undergo any danger, for the sake of praise: And he is yet celebrated as such among the *barbarians*. Such is he recorded to have been with respect to his mind and person; and he was educated under the institutions and laws of the *Persians*.

THESE laws seem to begin with a provident care of the common good; not where those of most other governments begin; for most other governments, giving to all a liberty of educating their children as they please, and to the advanced in age a liberty of living as they please, do then enjoin their people not to steal, nor to plunder, not to enter a house by violence, not to strike unjustly, not to be adulterous, not to disobey the magistrates, and other things in like manner; and if any transgress, they impose punishments upon them.

*S. 2* But the *Persian* laws, taking things higher, are careful, from the beginning, to provide that their citizens shall not be such as to be capable of meddling with any action that is base and vile. And that care, they take in this manner. They have a public place, called from the name of liberty, where the king's palace and the other courts and houses of magistrates are built: All things that are bought and sold, and the dealers in them, their noise and low disingenuous manners, are banished hence to another place; that the rout of these may not mix  
and



and interfere with the decent order of those who are under the ingenuous discipline. This place, near the public courts, is divided into four parts; one is allotted to the boys, one to the youth, one to the full-grown men, and one to those who exceed the years of military service. Each of these orders according to the law, attend in their several parts; the boys and full-grown men as soon as it is day; the elders when they think convenient, except upon appointed days when they are obliged to be present; the youth take up their rest round the courts in their light arms; all but such as are married; these are not required to do it, unless before-hand ordered to attend; nor is it decent for them to be absent often.

5.5 Over each of the orders there are twelve rulers; for the *Persians* are divided into twelve tribes. Those over the boys are chosen from among the elders; and such as are thought to make them the best boys: Those over the youth are chosen from amongst the full-grown men and such as are thought to make the best youth: And over the full-grown men, such as are thought to render them the most ready to perform their appointed parts, and to execute the orders they receive from the chief magistrate. There are likewise chosen, presidents over the elders, who take care that these also perform their duty. And that it may appear what means they use to make their citizens prove the best, I shall now relate what part is appointed for each degree.

THE boys who frequent the public places of instruction, pass their time in learning justice, and tell you that they go for that purpose, as those with us who go to learn letters tell you that they go for that purpose. Their rulers for the most part of the day continue dispersing justice amongst them. For as amongst the men, so the boys have against each other their accusations for theft, robbery, violence, deceit and calumny, and other such things as naturally



rally occur ; and when they find any acting unjustly, in any of these ways, they punish them ; they punish likewise such as they find guilty of false accusation ; they appeal to justice also in the case of a crime for which men hate one another excessively, but never bring to the bar of justice, that is ingratitude ; and whomsoever they find able to return a benefit, and refusing to do it, they punish severely. For they are of opinion that the ungrateful, are careless and neglectful both of the gods, of their parents, of their country, and of their friends ; and ingratitude seems to be certainly attended by impudence ; and this seems to be the principal conductor of mankind into all things that are vile. They instill into the boys a modest and discreet temper of mind ; and it contributes much towards establishing this temper in them, that they see every day their elders behaving themselves in that discreet and modest manner. They teach them obedience to their rulers, and it contributes much to their instruction in this, that they see their elders zealously obedient to their rulers. They teach them temperance with respect to eating and drinking ; and it contributes much to this their temperance to see that their elders do not quit their stations for the service of their bellies, before the magistrates dismiss them, and that the boys do not eat with their mothers but with their teachers and when the magistrates give the signal. They bring from home with them bread for their food, and a sort of herb much in use with them, to eat with it. And they bring a cup to drink in, that if any are thirsty, they may take from the river. They learn besides to shoot with the bow, and to throw the javelin. These things the boys practise till they are sixteen or seventeen years of age ; then they enter the order of youth. The youth pass their time thus : For ten years after they pass from the order of boys, they take their rests around the courts, as  
is



is said before, both for the security and guard of the city, and to preserve in them a modesty and governableness of temper ; for this age seems the most to need care. In the day time they chiefly give themselves up to be made use of by their magistrates in case they want them for any public service ; and when it is necessary they all attend about the courts. But when the king goes out to hunt, he takes half the guard off with him ; and this he does several times every month. Those that go must have their bow and quiver, a smaller sort of sword in its proper scabbard, a shield and two javelins ; one to throw, and the other, if necessary, to use at hand. They are careful to keep up these public huntings ; and the king as in war is in this their leader ; hunts himself and takes care that others do so ; because it seems to be the truest method of practising all such things as relate to war. It accustoms them to rise early in the morning, and to bear heat and cold ; it exercises them in long marches, and in running ; it necessitates them to use their bow against the beast they hunt, and to throw the javelin if he fall in their way ; their courage must of necessity be often sharpened in the hunt, when any of the strong and vigorous beasts oppose themselves : they must come to blows with the beast, if he comes up with them, and must be upon their guard as he comes upon them. So that it is no easy matter to find what one thing there is that is practised in war, and is not so in their hunting. They attend this hunting, being provided with a dinner, larger indeed (as is but fit) than that of the boys ; but in all other respects the same, and during the hunt sometimes perhaps they shall not eat it, either waiting for the beast if it be necessary, or choosing to spend more time at the work ; so they make their supper of that dinner ; hunt again the next day, 'till the time of supper ; and reckon



these two days as but one, because they have eat the food but of one day. This they do to accustom themselves, that in case it may be necessary for them in war, they may be able to do it. They of this degree have what they catch for meat with their bread. If they catch nothing, then they have their usual herb. And if any one think that they eat without pleasure when they have this herb only for food with their bread, and that they drink without pleasure when they drink water, let him recollect how pleasant it is to one who is hungry to eat plain cake or bread; and how pleasant to one who is thirsty to drink water. The tribes that remain at home pass their time in practising the things they learned while they were boys, in shooting with the bow, and throwing the javelin. These they continue exercising in emulation one against another; and there are public games in these kinds, and prizes set; and in which soever of the tribes there are the most found who exceed in skill, in courage, and in obedience, the citizens applaud and honour, not only the present ruler of them, but also the person who had the instruction of them while boys. The magistrates likewise make use of the remaining youth, if they want them to keep guard upon any occasion, or to search for criminal persons, to pursue robbers, or for any other business that requires strength and agility. These things the youth practise; and when they have compleated ten years, they enter into the order of full-grown men. These, from the time they leave the order of youth, pass five and twenty years in this manner. First, as the youth, they give themselves up to be made use of by the magistrates upon any occasion that may occur for the service of the public, and that requires the service of such as have discretion, and are yet in vigour. If some military expedition be necessary to be undertaken, they who are under this degree of discipline do not engage in it, with bow and javelins,



lins, but with what they call arms for close fight, a corselet about the breast, a shield in the left hand, such as the *Persians* are painted with, and in the right a larger sort of sword. All the magistrates are chosen from amongst these, except the teachers of the boys, and when they have completed five and twenty years in this order, they are then something upwards of fifty years of age, and pass into the order of such as are elders, and are so called. These elders are not obliged to attend any military service abroad, but remaining at home, have the distribution of public and private justice, have judgment of life and death, and the choice of all magistrates; and if any of the youth or full grown men, fail in any thing enjoined by the laws, the philarchs or magistrates of the tribes, or any one that will make discovery of it, the elders hear the cause and give judgment upon it; and the person so judged and condemned, remains infamous for the rest of his life.

THAT the whole *Persian* form of government Ch. 7  
may the more plainly appear, I return a little back; § 15.  
for by means of what has been already said, it may now be laid open in a very few words. The *Persians* are said to be in number about twelve myriads, or a hundred and twenty thousand; of these none are by law excluded from honours and magistracies, but all are at liberty to send their boys to the public schools of justice. They who are able to maintain their children idle, and without labour, send them to these schools. They who are not able do not send them. They who are thus educated under the public teachers, are at liberty to pass through the order of youth: They who are not so educated have not that liberty: They who pass thorough the youth fully discharging all things enjoined by the law are allowed to be incorporated amongst the full-grown men, and to partake of all honours and magistracies: But they who do not compleat their  
course



course through the order of boys, and through that of the youth, do not pass into the order of the full-grown men. They who make their progress through the order of the full-grown men unexceptionably, become then of the elders : So the orders of elders stand composed of men who have made their way through all things good and excellent. And this is the form of government by the use of which, they think they become the best men.

*II. 46.* There yet remain things that bear testimony to the spare diet, used among the *Persians*, and to their carrying it off by exercise ; For it is even yet shameful among them to be seen either to spit or to blow the nose, or to appear full of wind : 'Tis shameful for any one to be seen going aside either to make water, or any such matter ; and these things could not possibly be unless they used a very temperate diet, and spent the moisture by exercise, making it pass some other way.

*II. 47.* THESE things I had to say concerning the *Persians* in general. I will now relate the actions of *Cyrus*, upon whose account this discourse was undertaken, beginning from his being a boy. *Cyrus* till twelve years of age or little more, was educated under this discipline, and appeared to excel all his equals, both in his quick learning of what was fit, and his performing every thing in a handsome and in a manly way. At that time *Astyages* sent for his daughter and her son ; for he was desirous, to see him, having heard that he was an excellent and lovely child. *Mandane* therefore came to her father, and brought her son with her. As soon as they arrived, and *Cyrus* knew *Astyages* to be his mother's father, he instantly, as being a boy of a great good nature, embraced him just as if he had been bred under him, and had long had an affection for him : And observing him set out and adorned, with his eyes and complexion painted, and with false



false hair, things that are allowed amongst the *Medes*, (for the purple coat, the rich habit called candys, collars about the neck, and bracelets about the hands, all belong to the *Medes*; but amongst the inhabitants of *Persia*, even at this day, their habits are much coarser, and their diet much plainer,) observing this dress of his grandfather, and looking at him, said, "O mother, how handsome is my grandfather?" And his mother then asking him which he thought the handsomer either his father or his grandfather; *Cyrus* answered, "Of the *Persians*, mother, my father is much the handsomest; and of all the *Medes* that I have seen either upon the road or within the city this grandfather of mine is much the handsomest." *Astyages* then embracing *Cyrus*, in return, put him on a fine robe; honoured him and set him out with collars and bracelets; and whenever he went abroad carried him with him, mounted upon a horse with a bridle of gold, and such as he used himself to appear abroad upon. *Cyrus* being a boy much in love with what was fine and honourable, was pleased with the robe; and extremely delighted with learning to ride; for among the *Persians*, it being difficult to breed horses, and even difficult to ride, the country being mountainous, it is a rare thing to see a horse. But *Astyages* being at table with his daughter, and with *Cyrus*, and being desirous to treat the boy with all possible delight and pleasure, that he might the less miss what he enjoyed at home, set before him several dishes with sauces and meats of all kinds; upon which *Cyrus* is reported to have said, "What a deal of business and trouble, grandfather, have you at your meals, if you must reach out your hands to all these several dishes and taste of all these kinds of meats?" "What, then, said *Astyages*, don't you think this entertainment much finer than what you have in *Persia*?"



“ *Persia ?*” *Cyrus* to this is said to reply, “ No,  
“ grandfather ; with us we have a much plainer  
“ and readier way to get satisfied than you have ;  
“ for plain bread and meat brings us to our end,  
“ but you in order to the same end, have a deal of  
“ business upon your hands, and wandering up  
“ and down through many mazes, you at last  
“ scarce arrive where we have got long before  
“ you.” But child, said *Astyages*, it is not with  
“ pain that we wander thro’ these mazes ; taste,  
“ said he, and you will find that these things  
“ are pleasant.” “ Well but grandfather said  
“ *Cyrus*, I see that you yourself have an aver-  
“ sion to these sauces and things.” “ What ground,  
“ replied *Astyages*, have you to say so ?” Because,  
“ said he, when you touch your bread, I see you  
“ don’t wipe your hands upon any thing, but when  
“ you meddle with any of these, you presently  
“ clean your hands upon your napkin, as if you  
“ were very uneasy to have them daubed with  
“ them.” To this *Astyages*, is said to have answer-  
“ ed, “ Well child if this be your opinion eat  
“ heartily of plain meats that you may return  
“ young and healthy home ;” and at the same time  
he is said to have presented to him various meats  
both of the tame, and wild kinds ; *Cyrus* when  
he saw this variety of meats is reported to have  
said, “ And do you give me all these meats, grand-  
“ father, to do with them as I think fit ?” “ Yes,  
“ truly I do,” said *Astyages* ; then *Cyrus* taking  
of the several meats, is said to have distributed  
around to the servants about his grandfather, say-  
ing to one, “ This for you, because you take pains  
“ to teach me to ride ; This for you, because you  
“ gave me a javelin ; for I have it at this time ;  
“ This for you, because you serve my grandfather  
“ well ; This for you, because you honour my  
“ mother ;” and that thus he did till he had distri-  
buted



buted away all he received. *Astyages* is then reported to have said, "And do you give nothing to this *Sacian*, my cup-bearer, that I favour above all?" This *Sacian* was a very beautiful person, and had the honour to introduce to *Astyages*, any that had business with him, and was to hinder those that he did not think it seasonable to introduce. *Cyrus* to this is said to have answered, in a pert manner, as a boy not yet struck with the sense of shame, "For what reason is it, grandfather, that you favour this *Sacian* so much?" *Astyages* replied in a jesting way, "Don't you see, said he, how handsomely and neatly he pours me my wine?" For these cup-bearers to kings perform their business very cleverly, they pour out their wine very neatly, and give the cup, bearing it along with three fingers, and present it in such a manner as it may best be received by the person who is to drink. "Grandfather, said *Cyrus*, bid the *Sacian* give me the cup, that, pouring you your wine to drink, I may gain your favour if I can." *Astyages* bids the *Sacian* give him the cup; and *Cyrus* taking it, is said to have washed the cup as he had observed the *Sacian* to do; and settling his countenance in a serious and decent manner, brought and presented the cup to his grandfather in such a manner as afforded much laughter to his mother and to *Astyages*. Then *Cyrus* laughing out, leapt up to his grandfather, and kissing him cried out, "O *Sacian* you are undone, I will turn you out of your office; I will do the business better than you and not drink the wine myself." For these cup-bearers when they have given the cup, dip with a dish and take a little out, which pouring into their left hand they swallow; and this they do that in case they mix poison in the cup it may be of no advantage to themselves. Upon this *Astyages* in a jesting way, said, "And why *Cyrus* since you  
" have



“ have imitated the *Sacian* in every thing else, did  
“ not you swallow some of the wine ?” Because  
“ truly, said he, I was afraid there had been poison  
“ mixed in the cup ; for when you feasted your  
“ friends upon your birth-day, I plainly found that  
“ he had poured you all poison.” “ And how,  
“ child,” said he, “ how did you know this ?”  
“ Truly,” said he, “ because I saw you all disor-  
“ dered in body and mind ; for, first, what you  
“ do not allow us boys to do, that you did your-  
“ selves ; for you all bawled together, and could  
“ learn nothing of each other : Then you fell to  
“ singing very ridiculously ; and without attending  
“ to the singer, you swore he sung admirably ; then  
“ every one telling stories of his own strength, you  
“ rose up, and fell to dancing ; but without all  
“ rule or measure, for you could not so much as  
“ keep yourselves upright. Then you all entirely  
“ forgot yourselves ; you, that you were king, and  
“ they, that you were their governor : And then  
“ for the first time I discovered that you were cele-  
“ brating a festival, where all were allowed to talk  
“ with equal liberty ; for you never ceased talking.”  
*Astyages* then said, “ Does your father, child, ne-  
“ ver drink ’till he gets drunk ?” “ No, truly,”  
said he. “ What does he then ?” “ Why he  
“ quenches his thirst, and gets no farther harm,  
“ for as I take it, grandfather, says he, it is no *Sa-*  
“ *cian* that officiates as cup-bearer about him.”  
His mother then said, “ But why, child, do you  
“ make war thus upon the *Sacian* ?” *Cyrus* to this  
is said to reply, “ Why truly because I hate him ;  
“ for, very often, when I am desirous to run to my  
“ grandfather, this nasty fellow hinders me. Pray,  
“ grandfather, said he, let me but have the go-  
“ vernment of him but for three days.” “ How  
“ would you govern him said *Astyages* ?” *Cyrus*  
replied, “ Why standing as he does just at the en-  
“ trance,



“trance, when he had a mind to go into dinner,  
“then would I tell him, that he could not possibly  
“have his dinner yet, because *He was busy with cer-*  
“*tain people*; then when he came to supper, I would  
“tell him that *He was bathing*; and if he was very  
“pressing for his victuals, I would tell him that *He*  
“*was with the women*; and so on, ’till I had tor-  
“mented him as he torments me when he keeps  
“me from you.” Such like subjects of mirth  
did he afford them at meals: At other times  
of the day, if he perceived his grandfather or  
his mother’s brother in want of any thing, it  
was a difficult matter for any one to be before-  
hand with him in doing it. For *Cyrus* was ex-  
treamly delighted to gratify them in any thing  
that lay in his power. But when *Mandane* was  
preparing to return home to her husband, *Astyages*  
desired her to leave *Cyrus* with him. She made  
answer, “That she was willing to gratify her fa-  
“ther in every thing; but to leave the child against  
“his will she thought hard.” Upon this occasion,  
*Astyages* says to *Cyrus*. “Child, if you will stay  
“with me, in the first place, the *Sacian* shall not  
“have the command of your access to me; but,  
“whenever you would come, it shall be in your  
“own power, and the oftener you will come, said  
“he, the more I shall think myself obliged to you.  
“Then you shall have the use of all my horses, and  
“of as many more as you please; and when you  
“go away you shall take as many of them as you  
“please with you: Then at meals you shall take  
“what way you please to get satisfied, in what you  
“think a temperate way: Then all the several  
“creatures that are now in the park, I give you;  
“and will besides collect more of all kinds, that  
“you may pursue them when you have learned to  
“ride, and with your bow and javelin lay them  
“prostrate on the ground, as grown men do. Boys  
“I will



“ I will furnish you with, for play-fellows : and,  
“ whatever else you would have, do but tell me,  
“ and you shan’t go without.” When *Astyages*  
had said this, *Cyrus*’s mother asked him whether he  
would go or stay. He did not at all hesitate, but  
presently said, that he would stay. And being ask-  
ed by his mother the reason why, it is said, that he  
made answer, “ Because, mother, that at home,  
“ both at the bow and javelin, I am superior to all  
“ of equal age with me, and am so reckoned ; but  
“ here, I well know that in horsemanship I am their  
“ inferior ; and be it known to you mother, this  
“ grieves me very much. But if you leave me here  
“ and I learn to a be horse-man, then I reckon  
“ that when I am in *Persia*, I shall easily master  
“ them there who are so good at all exercises on  
“ foot, and when I come amongst the *Medes*, I shall  
“ endeavour to be an assistant and a support to my  
“ grandfather, making myself the most skillful,  
“ among those who excel in horsemanship.” His  
“ mother is then reported to have said, “ But how  
“ child will you be instructed here in the knowledge  
“ of justice when your teachers are there ?” O mo-  
“ ther, said *Cyrus*, that I understand exactly alrea-  
“ dy.” How so ?” said *Mandane*. “ Because my  
“ teacher, said he, appointed me judge over others,  
“ as being very exact in the knowledge of justice  
“ myself. But yet, said he, I had some stripes  
“ given me, as not determining right in one judg-  
“ ment that I gave ; the case was this : A bigger  
“ boy who had a little coat, stripping a less boy who  
“ had a larger, puts on upon the little boy the coat  
“ that was his own, and puts on himself the coat  
“ that was the little boy’s. I therefore passing judg-  
“ ment upon them, decreed that it was best that  
“ each should keep the coat that best fitted him.  
“ Upon this my teacher threshed me, and told me  
“ that when I should be constituted judge of what  
“ fitted



“fitted best I should determine in this manner.  
“But when I was to judge whose the coat was,  
“then, said he, it must be enquired what right  
“possession is ; whether he that took a thing by  
“force, should have it, or whether he who made  
“it, or purchased it, should possess it ; and then he  
“told me that what was according to law was just ;  
“and that, what was contrary to law was violent :  
“He bid me take notice therefore that a judge  
“ought to give his opinion with the law. So, mother,” said he, “I understand what is just in all  
“cases very exactly ; or if any thing be wanting to  
“me, my grandfather here will teach it me.”  
“But, child,” says she, “the same things are not accounted just with your grandfather here, and yonder in *Persia*. For amongst the *Medes*, your grandfather has made himself lord and master of all ;  
“but amongst the *Persians*, it is accounted just that  
“all should be equally dealt by ; and your father  
“is the first to execute the orders imposed upon  
“the whole state, and receives those orders himself ; his own humour is not his rule and measure,  
“but it is the law that is so. How then can you  
“avoid being beat to death at home, when you  
“come from your grandfather, instructed, not in  
“kingly arts, but in the arts and manners of tyranny ; one of which is to think that power and  
“ascendant over all is your due ?” O mother,” said *Cyrus*, “your father is much better able to  
“teach one to submit than to take the ascendant.  
“Don’t you see,” said he, “that he has taught all  
“the *Medes* to submit to him ? So be well assured  
“that your father will not dismiss me, nor any one,  
“from about him, instructed how to gain power  
“and ascendant over others.”

MANY such kind of discourses did *Cyrus* hold ; at last his mother went away ; he staid, and was there brought up. He immediately joined himself



to those that were his equals in age, so as to be upon a very familiar and friendly foot with them. And he presently gained their fathers, both by visiting them, and by giving evidence of his affection to their sons. So that if they had any business with the king, they bid their boys ask *Cyrus* to do it; and *Cyrus*, such was his benignity and love of esteem and praise, did his utmost to accomplish it for them. And *Astyages* had it not in his power to refuse gratifying *Cyrus* in whatever he asked of him. For *Cyrus*, when his grandfather fell ill, never quitted him; never ceased from tears; and made it evident to all, that he was in the utmost fear of his dying: And in the night, if *Astyages* wanted any thing, *Cyrus* was the first to perceive it, and started up the nimblest of any to serve him, in any thing that he thought pleasing to him. So that he entirely gained *Astyages*. *Cyrus* was perhaps a little over-talkative: but this he had partly from his education; his teacher obliging him to give a reason for every thing that he did; and to hearken to it from others, when he was to give his opinion in judgment; and besides, being very eager after knowledge, he was always asking those about him abundance of questions, how such and such things were; and upon whatever subject he was questioned by others, being of a very quick and ready apprehension, he instantly made his answers. So that from all these things he contracted an over-talkativeness. But as in the persons of very young people, who have shot up suddenly so as to be very tall, there yet appears something childish, that betrays their youth; so in *Cyrus*, it was not an impudence and boldness that appeared, through that talkativeness, but a simplicity and good nature. So that one was desirous rather to hear yet more from him, than to be with him while he held his tongue.

BUT



BUT as years added to his growth, and brought him on towards the time of his becoming a youth, he then used fewer words and a softer voice: He became full of shame, so as to blush when he came into the company of men of years; and that playful pertness in bluntly accosting every one did not continue with him as before. So he became more soft and gentle, but in his conversation extremely agreeable. For, in all the exercises, that he and his equals used in emulation to each other, he did not challenge his companions to those in which he knew himself superior; but such as he well knew himself to be inferior in, those he set on foot, declaring that he would do them better than they. Accordingly, he would begin vaulting the horse; throwing the javelin, or shooting with the bow on horseback, while he was yet scarce well able to sit on a horse: and when he was outdone, he was the first to laugh at himself. And as, upon the account of being baffled, he did not fly off, and meddle no more with the things he was so baffled in, but continued repeating his endeavours to do better, he presently became equal to his companions in horsemanship, and by his love of the work, quickly left them behind. He then presently applied himself to the taking of the beasts in the park, pursuing, throwing at them, and killing them; so that *Astyages* could no longer supply him with them. And *Cyrus* perceiving that he could not furnish him with these creatures, though very desirous to do it, often said to him, “What need you take so much pains, grandfather, to find me out these creatures? if you will but send me out a hunting with my uncle, I shall reckon that all the beasts I see are creatures that you maintain for me.” But though he was very desirous to go out a hunting, yet he could not now be pressing and importunate as when he was a boy; he became very backward in going; to his grandfather,

D 2

and



and what he blamed in the *Sacian* for not admitting him to his grandfather, he became in this a *Sacian* to himself; for he never went in, unless he knew before-hand that it was seasonable, and begged the *Sacian* by all means to signify to him when it was seasonable, and when not; so that the *Sacian* now loved him extremely, as all the rest did.

WHEN *Astyages* therefore knew that he was extremely desirous to hunt abroad and at large, he sent him out with his uncle, and sent some elderly men on horseback with him, as guards upon him, to take care of him in rough and rocky parts of the country, and in case any beasts of the savage kind appeared. *Cyrus* therefore was very earnest in enquiring of those that attended him, what beasts he was not to approach, and which those were that he might confidently pursue. They told him that bears had destroyed many that had ventured to approach them; and that lions, wild boars and leopards had done the same; but that stags, wild-goats, wild-sheep, and wild-asses were harmless things. They told him likewise, that rough and rocky places were not less to be taken care of than the beasts; for that many, both men and horses, had fallen headlong down precipices. *Cyrus* took all these instructions very eagerly; but as soon as he saw a stag roused, forgetting all that he had heard, he pursued, and looked at nothing but at that which he run; and his horse taking a leap with him, fell upon his knees, and wanted but little of throwing him quite over his neck. However *Cyrus*, though with difficulty, kept upon his back, and the horse recovered. When they got into the plain he struck the stag with his javelin, and brought him to the ground; a large noble creature it was, and he was most highly delighted. But his guardians coming up with him, chid and reprov'd him; told him  
what



what danger he had run into; and said that they would tell it to his grandfather. *Cyrus* being alighted from his horse, stood and heard this with much uneasiness: but hearing a hollow, he mounted his horse at a leap, as in a sort of enthusiasm, and as soon as he saw a boar rushing forward over-against him, he pushed on upon him; and aiming right with his javelin, struck the boar in the forehead. And here his uncle, seeing his boldness, reproved him; he, while his uncle was reproving him, begged that he would allow him to carry off the beasts, that he had taken, and to give them to his grandfather; to this, they say, his uncle replied, "But if he discover that it is you that have pursued and taken them, he will not only reprove you, but me for allowing you to do it." "Let him beat me," says he, "if he will, when I have given them to him; and do you, if you will, uncle," says he, "correct me as you please, do but gratify me in this." *Cyaxares* at last said, "Well, do as you please; for it is you that seem now to be our king."

So *Cyrus*, carrying off the beasts, presented them to his grandfather, and told him that he himself had taken them for him. The javelins he did not shew him; but laid them down all bloody where he thought that he certainly would see them. *Astyages* said, "Child, I receive with pleasure whatever you give me, but I am not in such want of any of these things as to run into danger for them." "If you do not want them, grandfather," said *Cyrus*, "pray give them me; that I may distribute them to my companions." "Child," says *Astyages*, "take them, and distribute them to whom you please, and of every thing else whatever you will." *Cyrus* taking the beasts, gave them to the boys, and withal told them, "Boys," said he, "what very triflers were we, when we hunted in



“ the park ? In my opinion, it was as if one had  
 “ tied the creatures by the leg and hunted them ;  
 “ for first, we were within a narrow compass of  
 “ ground ; then the creatures were poor, slender,  
 “ scabby things, one was lame ; another maimed ;  
 “ but the beasts in the mountains and marshes, how  
 “ fine, how large, and how sleek they appear ?  
 “ The stags as if they had wings, leap to the very  
 “ heavens ; the boars, as they say brave men do,  
 “ attack one hand to hand ; and their bulk is such  
 “ that it is impossible to miss them. These even  
 “ when they are dead, says he, are in my opinion,  
 “ finer than those other walled up things when alive.  
 “ But says he, would your father, think you, send  
 “ you out a hunting ? ” “ Yes very readily, said  
 “ they, if *Astyages* ordered it.” *Cyrus* then said,  
 “ Who is there amongst you therefore that would  
 “ mention it to *Astyages* ? ” “ Who more able, said  
 “ they, to persuade him than yourself ? ” “ But  
 “ truly, said he, for my part, I know not what kind  
 “ of creature I am become ; for I am neither able  
 “ to speak, nor can I any longer so much as meet  
 “ my grandfather’s eyes ; and if I go on this way  
 “ so fast, I fear says he, I shall become a mere  
 “ blockhead and fool ; yet when I was a little boy  
 “ I was thought a notable talker ” The boys then  
 said, “ You tell us a sad piece of news, if you can  
 “ do nothing for us in case of need, but that we  
 “ must beg that of another, that is in your power  
 “ to effect.”

*CYRUS* hearing this, was nettled, and retiring  
 without saying a word, he stirred himself up to bold-  
 ness ; and having contrived how to speak to his  
 grandfather in the least offensive manner, and to  
 obtain for himself and the boys what they desired,  
 he went in. Thus then he began ; “ Tell me, said  
 “ he, grandfather ! if one of your domestic ser-  
 “ vants

3  
 Chapter



“ wants should run away, and you should take him  
“ again ; what would you do with him ?” “ Why,  
“ said he, what should I do but put him in chains,  
“ and force him to work.” But if a run-away  
“ should of himself return to you, what would you  
“ do ?” “ What else, said he, but have him whip-  
“ ped that he may do so no more, then make use of  
“ him as before ?” “ It is time therefore, said  
“ *Cyrus*, to prepare yourself to bestow a whipping  
“ upon me, as having contrived to run away, and  
“ take my companions with me a hunting.” Then  
“ said *Astyages*, you have done very well to tell me  
“ before-hand. For henceforward I order you  
“ not to stir. It is a fine thing indeed, said he, if  
“ for the sake of a little venison, I shall send out my  
“ daughter’s son to ramble at his pleasure.”

*CYRUS*, hearing this, obeyed ; and stayed at home much afflicted ; carrying a melancholy countenance, and remained silent. *Astyages* when he found that he was so extremely afflicted, being willing to please him, carries him out a hunting. And assembling abundance of people, both foot and horse, and likewise the boys, and driving the beasts out into the champain country, he made a great hunt. And being himself present, royally attended, he gave order that none should throw till *Cyrus* was satisfied and had enough of the exercise. But *Cyrus* would not let him hinder them, “ If you have  
“ a mind, grandfather, said he, that I should hunt  
“ with pleasure, let all those about me pursue and  
“ engage in the fray and do their best.” *Astyages* then gave them his leave, and taking a station saw them engaged amongst the beasts, striving to outdo each other, pursuing and throwing their javelins. He was delighted with *Cyrus*, who in transports of joy could not hold his tongue ; but like a young generous dog, that opens when he approaches the

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beast,



beast he pursues, encouraged every one, calling upon them by name. He was pleased to see him laughing at one; and another he observed him to praise cordially and without the least emotion of envy. At last *Astyages* having taken abundance of game retired; but was so pleased with that hunt, that he always went out with *Cyrus*, whenever he was able, taking abundance of people with him, and boys for the sake of *Cyrus*. Thus for the most part did *Cyrus* pass his time, doing service and pleasure to all, and hurt to none.

IV  
BUT when he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, the king of *Assyria*'s son, being to celebrate his nuptials, had a mind at that time to hunt; and hearing that there was plenty of game upon the borders of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*, they having not been hunted because of the war between the nations; hither he desired to go. That he might hunt therefore securely, he took with him a body of horse, and another of light-armed foot, who were to drive the beasts out of their fastnesses into the open cultivated country. Being come therefore to the place where their garrisons were, and a guard always attending; here he supped, as intending to hunt the next day early in the morning. But that evening a guard of horse and foot arrived from the city to relieve those who were there before. He therefore thought that he had now a handsome army with him, consisting of a double guard, besides a considerable number both of horse and foot that had attended upon himself. He judged it best therefore to undertake a plunder upon the *Median* territory, that this would be a nobler exploit than a hunt, and he thought he should procure great store of beasts for sacrifice. So rising early in the morning, he led his army forwards. The foot he left in close order upon the borders: he himself advanced with the horse up to the *Median* garrisons; and keeping



keeping the best of them and the greatest number with himself, he halted there, that the *Medes* in garrison might not march and charge those who were to scour the country. And such as were proper he sent out in parties, some to run one way and some another ; and ordered them to surround and seize all that they met with, and bring all off to him. These did as they were ordered. But notice being given to *Astyages*, that the enemy was got into the country, he marched with what forces he had at hand ; and he signified to all his other forces to march after, to support him. When they came up and saw a great number of *Assyrians* in close order, and their horses standing quietly and still, the *Medes* likewise halted and stood,

*CYRUS*, seeing other people marching on all sides to support their friends, set forward himself, putting on his arms for the first time, never imagining that he should be so soon armed with them in the manner he desired. For they were very fine and fitted him very well ; being such as his grandfather had ordered to be made fit to his body. So being thus completely armed he set out on horseback. *Astyages* getting sight of him, wondered by whose order and encouragement he came ; however he bid him keep by him. *Cyrus*, when he saw a great number of horsemen fronting him, asked, “ Grandfather ! said he, are these men enemies that sit quietly there on horseback ? ” “ They are enemies, said he. ” “ And are those so too that are scouring the country ? ” “ Yes, and those too. ” “ By *Jove* ! then grandfather ! said he, methinks these that are thus plundering us are wretched fellows, and mounted upon wretched horses : and must not some of us march against them ? ” “ Do not you see, child ! said he, what a body of horse stands there in close order, and who, if we advance against the others, will intercept us ? And

“ we



“ we have not yet our full strength with us.” “ But  
 “ said *Cyrus*, if you wait here and collect those that  
 “ are marching to join us, these of our enemies  
 “ that are here will be under apprehension,  
 “ and will not stir ; and the plunderers when  
 “ they see any men marching against them will pre-  
 “ sently drop their booty.” Upon his saying this,  
*Astyages* thought there was something in what he  
 said, and wondering at his sagacity and vigilance,  
 ordered his son to take a squadron of horse and  
 march against the plunderers ; “ I, said he, will  
 “ bear down upon these men that are here, if they  
 “ offer to move towards you ; so that they shall be  
 “ obliged to be intent upon us.”

*CYAXARES* taking of the strongest and best both  
 of men and horses marched. And *Cyrus* seeing these put  
 forward, joined and pushed on with them, and pre-  
 sently got at the head of them. *Cyaxares* followed and  
 the rest were not left behind. As soon as the plunder-  
 ers saw them approaching, then quitting their booty  
 they fled. They that were with *Cyrus* intercepted  
 them, and fell to blows with such as they could  
 come up with, and *Cyrus* was the first at the work.  
 Those who by turning aside escaped them, they  
 pursued in the rear, and did not give over, but met  
 with several of them. Like a generous dog that has  
 not experience, and that runs headlong without cau-  
 tion, upon a boar, so ran *Cyrus* ; minding only to  
 deal his blows where any came within his reach,  
 without further foresight or consideration. The  
 enemy, when they saw their people in distress, mov-  
 ed their main body ; judging that the pursuit would  
 cease as soon as they should be seen to advance. *Cy-  
 rus* notwithstanding did not give over, but calling  
 out to his uncle for joy, pursued, and pressing con-  
 tinually on, put the enemy to an entire rout. *Cy-  
 axares* followed, perhaps being in awe of his father ;  
 and the rest followed after, who though perhaps they  
 would



would not have shewn themselves very brave against men that had oppoted them, yet were upon this occasion more than ordinarily eager in pursuing. *Astyages*, when he saw these men incautiously pursuing, and the enemy in a close body marching towards them, fearing for his son and *Cyrus*, lest they in disorder and confusion should fall in with the enemy, prepared to receive them, and suffer damage, he presently led on towards the enemy. The enemy as soon as they saw the *Medes* move forward, halted; presenting some their javelins, and some their bows in order to stop them when they came within bow-shot; as their general practice is. For when they are near they push each other at a certain distance, and so frequently skirmish on till evening. But when they saw their own men in full rout flying towards them, and those with *Cyrus* following close behind them, and *Astyages* with his horse already within bow-shot, they gave way and fled. The *Medes* in a body pursuing killed several in the first charge; and whoever they came up with they fell upon, whether man or horse; and whoever fell they killed. Nor did they stop till they came up with the *Assyrian* foot, and there they gave over, fearing lest some greater force than appeared might lie in ambuscade to receive them. *Astyages* upon this retreated; in much joy at this victory obtained by his cavalry, but knew not what to say to *Cyrus*; for he knew him to be the author of the action, and saw him wrought up to such a degree of boldness, as amounted almost to madness. For while the rest were retiring home, he alone by himself did nothing but ride round and view those that had fallen in the action. And they who had it in charge dragging him with difficulty away, brought him to *Astyages*, while he put his conductors forward before him, because he saw the countenance of his grandfather turn sour upon seeing him.

THESE



THESE things passed amongst the *Medes* ; and all people had *Cyrus* in their mouths both in their discourses and songs. But *Astyages*, who before had a great esteem for him, was now quite astonished and struck with him. *Cambyfes* the father of *Cyrus* was pleased to hear these things of him ; but when he heard that *Cyrus* began to perform acts of manhood, he called him home that he might compleat his institution among the *Persians*, according to the rules of his country. And upon this occasion *Cyrus*, is reported to have said, “ That he would “ return least his father should be uneasy and his “ country blame him.” *Astyages* therefore seemed to be under a necessity of parting with him. So he sent him away, but first presented him with such horses as he desired to have, and furnishing him with other things of all kinds, both because of the affection he had for him, and because he had great assurance and hopes that he would prove a man thoroughly able to do service to his friends, and mischief to his enemies.

ALL people waited upon *Cyrus* at his departure, attending him part of his way on horseback, both boys, youth, and men, and those in years ; so likewise did *Astyages* himself. And they say that not one turned back at parting with him, without tears. And it is said that *Cyrus* himself shed many tears at parting : that he gave many presents to his companions and equals in age, out of what *Astyages* had given him, and that at last taking off the *Median* robe he had on he gave it to a certain youth, declaring by this that he loved that youth the most of any. 'Tis said that they who had taken and accepted of these presents, returned them to *Astyages*, and that *Astyages* sent them to *Cyrus*, but that he sent them back again to the *Medes*, and sent word thus, “ O Grandfather ! if you would have me re- “ turn hither again with pleasure and not with  
“ shame,



“ shame, let every one keep, what I have given  
“ him.” And that *Astyages* hearing this, did as  
*Cyrus* had begged him by his message to do.

BUT if I may be allowed to relate a sportive affair, it is said that when *Cyrus* went away, and that he and his relations parted, they took their leave and dismissed him with a kiss, according to the *Persian* custom ; for the *Persians* practise it to this day. And that a certain *Mede*, a very excellent person had been long struck with the beauty of *Cyrus*, that when he saw *Cyrus*’s relations kiss him he stayed behind, and when the rest were gone accosted *Cyrus*, and said to him, “ And am I, *Cyrus* ! the  
“ only of all your relations that you do not know ? ”  
“ What ! said *Cyrus*, are you a relation ? ” “ Yes,”  
“ said he, This was the reason then, said *Cyrus*, that  
“ you used to gaze at me ; for I think I recollect  
“ that you frequently did so.” “ I was very desirous,  
“ said he, to salute you, but I was always ashamed  
“ to do it.” “ But, said *Cyrus*, you that are a relation  
“ ought not to have been so.” So coming up to  
him, he kissed him. The *Mede* having received  
the kiss, is said to have asked this question ;  
“ And is it a custom amongst the *Persians* to kiss  
“ relations ? ” “ It is so said *Cyrus*, when they see one  
“ another at some distance of time, or when they  
“ part.” “ Then, said the *Mede*, it seems now to  
“ be time for you to kiss me again ; for as you see  
“ I am just going away.” So *Cyrus* kissing him  
again dismissed him, and went his way. They had  
not gone very far before the *Mede* came up with  
him again, with his horse all over in a sweat ; and  
*Cyrus* getting sight of him, said, “ What, have you  
“ forgot any thing that you had a mind to say to  
“ me ? ” “ No, by *Jove* ! said he, but I am come  
“ again at a distance of time.” “ Dear relation !  
“ said he, it is a very short one.” “ How, a  
“ short one ? said the *Mede*, do you not know,  
“ *Cyrus* !



“ *Cyrus* ! said he, that the very twinkling of my  
 “ eyes is a long time to be without seeing you ;  
 “ you who are so lovely ?” Here *Cyrus*, from be-  
 ing in tears broke out into laughter, bid him “ go  
 “ his way and take courage ; that in a little time  
 “ he would be with them again ; and that then he  
 “ would be at liberty to look at him if he pleased  
 “ with steady eyes and without twinkling.”

*CYRUS* returning thus into *Persia*, is said to have continued a year longer amongst the boys. At first they made their jests upon him as being now come home instructed amongst the *Medes* in luxury and pleasure. But when they saw that he cloathed himself as they did, that he drank as they did, and with pleasure ; and that in festivals when they had a little more than ordinary plenty they perceived him more ready to give his share away than desirous to have it himself : and besides when they saw him in all other respects, much superior to themselves, they were then astonished at him. Then having passed through the discipline of these years, and entering the order of youth, he here again appeared superior to the rest, both in executing what was fit, in undergoing every thing that was his part so to do, in his respects to his elders, and in his obedience to his rulers.

In progress of time, *Astyages* died, and his son *Cyaxares* brother to *Cyrus*’s mother, took upon him the government of the *Medes*. And the king of *Assyria* having overthrown all the *Syrians*, who were no small nation, and having subjected the king of the *Arabs*, and holding the *Hyrceanians* under his dominion, and being at that time attacking the *Bactrians*, considered, that if he could break the power of the *Medes*, he should easily obtain the dominion of all around him. For the *Medes* seemed to be the strongest of all the neighbouring nations. So he sent round to all those that were subject to himself ;



self; he sent to *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, to the king of *Capadocia*, to both the *Phrygia's* to the *Carians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Indians* and *Cilicians*, loading the *Medes* and *Persians* with calumny and reproach; telling them, how great, how powerful, and how united in interest these two nations were by means of several intermarriages; that they would unite into one; and if he did not prevent them and break their power, they would run risk, by attacking each nation severally to overturn all. Some being persuaded by these arguments, entered into a confederacy with him; others were prevailed with by money and presents; for in these he abounded.

*CYAXARES* the son of *Astyages*, when he perceived this design and these united preparations against him, did himself immediately make the utmost preparation that he was able, to oppose them; and he sent to the *Persians*, both to the public council and to *Cambyfes*, who was married to his sister, and was king of *Persia*. He sent likewise to *Cyrus*, desiring him to endeavour to come commander of the forces, if the public council of the *Persians* should send any: For *Cyrus* by this time had completed ten years amongst the youth, and was now of the full-grown men.

So *Cyrus* accepting it, the elders in council chose him commander of the expedition into *Media*. They gave him power to choose two hundred from amongst those who were equally entituled to all honours, and to each of these, they gave power to choose four of their own order. These altogether made a thousand. Again, to each of these thousand they gave a power to choose from amongst the common people of *Persia*, ten shield-men, ten slingers, and ten archers. Thus there were ten thousand archers, ten thousand shield-men, and ten thousand slingers, and the thousand besides. So great was the army  
that



that was given to *Cyrus* ; and as soon as he was chosen, he began by making application to the gods ; and, having sacrificed happily and successfully, he then chose the two hundred ; and, when these had afterwards chosen each their four, he assembled them together, and made his first discourse to them, thus.

‘ FRIENDS, I have chosen you, not as having  
 ‘ now for the first time had proof of your worth,  
 ‘ but as having seen you from boys, performing  
 ‘ with ardor, all things that the city judges excel-  
 ‘ lent and noble, and avoiding entirely whatever it  
 ‘ reckons mean and base. I would now lay before  
 ‘ you upon what account it is, that I, (not unwill-  
 ‘ ingly) am placed in this station ; and that I have  
 ‘ called you together. I have thought that our fore-  
 ‘ fathers were no ways inferior to ourselves ; for  
 ‘ they passed their days in continual exercise and  
 ‘ practice of such things as are thought actions  
 ‘ of virtue ; but what, with this their virtue,  
 ‘ they have acquired either for the public of *Per-*  
 ‘ *sia*, or for themselves, I cannot yet discover.  
 ‘ Yet, in my opinion, men practise no virtue, but  
 ‘ that by it they may gain the advantage of the vi-  
 ‘ cious. They who abstain from pleasures in pre-  
 ‘ sent, do not do it that they may never have de-  
 ‘ light ; but they do it, that by means of that  
 ‘ temperance in present, they may in future time  
 ‘ have returns of delight manifold. They who are  
 ‘ desirous to be powerful in speaking, do not exer-  
 ‘ cise themselves in it, that they may never give  
 ‘ over discoursing ; but they do it in hopes, that  
 ‘ prevailing upon numbers of men by the power of  
 ‘ their eloquence, they may effect many things, and  
 ‘ those of great consequence.’

‘ THEY who exercise themselves in martial  
 ‘ affairs do not take pains in it, that they may never  
 ‘ cease fighting, but they judge that by making  
 ‘ themselves



‘ themselves able in military affairs, they shall acquire great riches, great happiness, and great honours to themselves and to their country. And if  
‘ any have taken pains to acquire ability and skill in these affairs, and without reaping any fruits  
‘ from them, have neglected themselves till they have been disabled by old age, in my opinion,  
‘ they have undergone the same fate as one who were desirous to be a good husbandman would  
‘ do ; who sowing and planting with skill, when the time came for gathering the fruits,  
‘ should let them all fall ungathered to the ground again. And as a wrestler, who after much pains  
‘ bestowed and becoming qualified for victory, should pass his days without entering the lists.  
‘ And, in my opinion, such a one could not justly be freed from the imputation of folly. Let not  
‘ us, friends, submit to such a fate ! But since we are conscious to ourselves, that from boys we are  
‘ exercised in all great and noble things, let us march against these enemies of ours, that I, an  
‘ eye-witness, well know to be poor insignificant men as antagonists to you. For such men are not  
‘ very dangerous antagonists, who, though they may be skilful at their bow, and their javelin, and in  
‘ horsemanship, yet when they are to undergo toil and labour, sink under it : and these men, with  
‘ respect to pains and labour, are mean and poor. Nor are such men dangerous antagonists, who  
‘ when they are to watch, and deny themselves their usual rest, are quite broken by it : and in  
‘ this respect likewise, these men are mean and poor. Nor are such dangerous antagonists, who though  
‘ able in all these respects, yet are ignorant how to deal either with allies or with enemies ; and these  
‘ men are evidently ignorant and unpractised in the noblest arts. But you can make use of the night,  
‘ as others of the day ; you reckon that toil and  
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‘ pains must conduct you to a life of pleasure ; you  
‘ can use hunger to relish your food, as others do  
‘ the daintiest meats ; you even with more ease than  
‘ lions, can bear the drinking of plain water ; and  
‘ you carry within your minds the noblest and most  
‘ warlike quality in the world ; for praise is what  
‘ you are pleased with above all things, and they  
‘ that are lovers of praise do of course undergo all  
‘ toil, and all danger with pleasure. If I say these  
‘ things of you and know otherwise, I abuse my-  
‘ self ; for whatever falls short of this in your con-  
‘ duct ; the deficiency will fall upon me. But I  
‘ trust to my own experience, to your good will to-  
‘ wards me, and to the folly of our enemies that  
‘ these good hopes will not fail me. Let us set  
‘ forward with confidence, since we are far from  
‘ appearing to be taken with an unjust desire of  
‘ what belongs to others ; for our enemies are  
‘ coming upon us, being themselves the aggressors in  
‘ wrong ; our friends call us to their assistance ;  
‘ What therefore is more just than to repel inju-  
‘ ries ? What more noble than to help our friends ?  
‘ Besides, methinks it ought not to be one of the  
‘ least grounds of your confidence in this case that  
‘ I do not set out upon this expedition with neglect  
‘ of the gods ; For you who have conversed much  
‘ with me, know that I have endeavoured to begin  
‘ not great affairs only, but even little ones, with  
‘ application to the gods ; To conclude, said he,  
‘ what further shall I say ? Do you make choice of  
‘ your men, and take them under your care ; and  
‘ making all things else ready, march to the *Medes*.  
‘ I, first returning back to my father, will go be-  
‘ fore you, that I may learn as soon as possible the  
‘ condition of the enemy, and prepare things for  
‘ you as well as I can, that, with God’s assist-  
‘ ance, we may carry on this war in the noblest  
‘ manner.’ These men did as *Cyrus* required.

CYRUS



*CYRUS* returning home, and having made his supplications to *Vesta*, and to *Jove* paternal, and the other deities, set out upon this expedition, and his father attended him on his way. As soon as they were out of the house, it is said, that it thundered and lightened in a happy manner. Upon which they went on without further augury; as if no one could be ignorant what these signals of the most powerful God imported. As *Cyrus* proceeded on upon his journey, his father began a discourse with him in this manner.

‘ THAT the gods send you out upon this expedition propitiously and favourably, is evident, child, both from the sacrifices and from the signals from heaven. And you yourself know it to be so; for I have purposely taught you these things, that you might not come to the knowledge of what the gods advise and direct you to, by means of other interpreters; but that you yourself seeing what is to be seen, and hearing what is to be heard, may understand and not be at the mercy of diviners, who, if they please, may deceive you, and tell you different things from what the gods really signify to you: and that in case you are without a diviner, you may not be at a loss what use to make of the divine signals, but by your knowledge in divination, understanding the advices given you by the gods, you may comply with them.’ ‘ Father, said *Cyrus*, I will always continue using my utmost care, according to your instruction, to render the gods propitious to us, and willing to give us their advice and direction. For I remember, to have heard it from you, that, as from men, so likewise from the gods, the most likely person to obtain his suit, is not he who, when he is in distress, flatters servilely, but he who in his most happy circumstances

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stances is most mindful of the gods. And you used to say, that it was in the same manner that one ought to cultivate friends.' 'Therefore child, said he, upon the account of this your care, you now apply to the gods and make your requests to them with the more pleasure, and you have the better hopes to obtain what you ask, appearing to yourself conscious that you have never neglected them.' 'Truly father,' said he, 'I am for that reason in such a temper of mind with respect to the gods, as to reckon them my friends.'——'Well child,' said he, 'do you remember these other opinions that we heretofore agreed in? As that in all things that the gods bestow, such men, as have acquired skill and knowledge in them, act and succeed better than they who are ignorant in them? That the laborious succeed better than the idle? That the diligent and the careful live with more security, than the negligent and careless? And that therefore first rendering ourselves such as we ought to be, we then should make our prayers to the gods for their blessings?' 'Yes indeed,' said *Cyrus*, 'I do remember to have heard these things from you; and I was forced to submit to your reasoning; for I know you used to say, that it was downright impiety, for such as had never learned to ride, to supplicate the gods for victory in engagements of horse; or for such as had never learned the use of the bow, to ask the superiority at this very weapon, over those who understood it: or for such as knew not how to steer, to pray that they might preserve ships in the quality of pilots; or for such as have not sown wheat, to pray that they might have a good crop of it; or for such as are not watchful in war, to pray that they may be preserved in safety; for that all such things were contrary to the settled laws of the gods; and



‘ and you said, that such as made impious prayers,  
‘ would probably meet with disappointments from  
‘ the gods ; as such would fail of success with men,  
‘ who should desire things contrary to all human  
‘ laws.’

‘ AND have you forgot, child, said he, these  
‘ other matters that you and I have heretofore dis-  
‘ coursed upon ? As that it was a great and noble  
‘ work for a man to be able to approve himself a  
‘ good and excellent man, and to find means to  
‘ supply himself and his family with plenty of all  
‘ things necessary. And this being thus allowed  
‘ to be a great work, that to understand how to  
‘ govern other men, so as to supply them with all  
‘ things necessary and in abundance, and so as to  
‘ render them such as they ought to be, this we  
‘ thought to be an astonishing work ! Yes truly,  
‘ father, said he, I remember to have heard you  
‘ say this, and I was of opinion with you, that to  
‘ govern well was a work of the highest nature.  
‘ And it now appears to me to be so, said he, when  
‘ I consider it with respect to other men, what  
‘ kind of men these governors are, and what kind  
‘ of men they are, who are to be our antagonists ;  
‘ I think it very mean to be terrified with such  
‘ people, and to be unwilling to march and engage  
‘ them. Men, said he, who, to begin with these  
‘ friends of ours, I find are of opinion, that a go-  
‘ vernor ought to distinguish himself from those  
‘ that he governs, by his eating more sumptuously,  
‘ by having more gold in his house, by sleeping  
‘ longer, and by living in all respects more at ease  
‘ than those that he governs. But my opinion is,  
‘ said he, that a governor ought to differ from  
‘ the governed, not by a life of ease and luxury,  
‘ but by care and circumspection, and by his rea-  
‘ diness to undergo toil and labour.’ — ‘ But  
‘ child, said he, there are some matters wherein



‘ you are not to contend with men, but with things ;  
‘ and to have these plentifully at command is no easy  
‘ matter. You readily know that if the army have  
‘ not necessaries, your command is immediately  
‘ dissolved and falls to pieces.’ Father, said he,  
‘ therefore, *Cyaxares* says, that he will afford them  
‘ to all that go from hence, however great the num-  
‘ ber be.’ You go then, child, said he, trusting in  
‘ these matters entirely to *Cyaxares’s* riches.’  
‘ I do, said *Cyrus*.’ ‘ Well, said he, but do you  
‘ know what these riches are?’ ‘ No truly,  
‘ said *Cyrus*, I do not. ‘ Yet, said he, to these  
‘ things that you are thus in the dark about,  
‘ do you trust. Do not you know, that you  
‘ will be in want of abundance of things,  
‘ and that now you must of necessity spend abun-  
‘ dance?’ ‘ I do know it, ‘ said *Cyrus* ; ‘ If there-  
‘ fore, said he, the supply of this expence fail him, or  
‘ that he purposely deals falsely by you, how will the  
‘ affairs of the army then stand ? It is plain not ve-  
‘ ry well.’ ‘ Then father, said he, if you know  
‘ any means of obtaining a supply, and such as  
‘ may depend upon myself, whilst I am yet upon  
‘ friendly ground, pray tell it me.’ ‘ Do you ask,  
‘ child, said he, if there be any means of supply de-  
‘ pending upon yourself ? And upon whom are these  
‘ things more likely to depend, than upon one who  
‘ has power in his hands ? You go from hence with  
‘ such a body of foot, as I very well know you  
‘ would not exchange for any other, tho’ many  
‘ times their number ; And you will have the *Me-*  
‘ *dian* cavalry, who are the best, and who will be  
‘ with you as your allies and friends. What nation  
‘ is there then all around, that you think will not  
‘ serve you, both out of a desire to gain your fa-  
‘ vour, and for fear of receiving harm ? These  
‘ matters you ought to concert with *Cyaxares*, that  
‘ nothing of what is necessary for you may be want-  
‘ ing,



‘ ing, and upon account of the continual expence,  
‘ you ought to secure a revenue and supply that  
‘ may be always accruing. But above all things  
‘ remember this, never to delay the procuring your  
‘ supply till want presses you to it ; but while you  
‘ have the greatest plenty, and before you come to  
‘ want, then labour the most to make sure of it.  
‘ For you will succeed the better with those from  
‘ whom you demand it, when you seem not to be  
‘ in want ; and your men will have nothing to  
‘ blame you for. By this means likewise you will  
‘ have more respect paid you by others ; and if by  
‘ means of your forces, you have a mind to do  
‘ service or prejudice to any while your men are  
‘ supplied with all that they want, they will do you  
‘ better service. And be assured that your words  
‘ will carry greater weight with them when you can  
‘ shew, that you have it in your power to do service  
‘ or to do hurt.’ ‘ I am satisfied, father, said  
‘ he, that you are right in all this, both for other  
‘ reasons, as well as particularly because there are  
‘ none of the soldiers that will pay me thanks for  
‘ what they are now to receive : for they know  
‘ upon what terms *Cyaxares* takes them as his al-  
‘ lies ; but whatever any of them shall receive  
‘ over and above what is agreed, this they will rec-  
‘ kon favour, and will pay the greatest gratitude to  
‘ the bestower of it. And indeed, for one who  
‘ has a force, by whose means he may receive ad-  
‘ vantages in return of service done to friends, and  
‘ may endeavour to make conquest upon enemies ;  
‘ for such a one to be careless in securing himself  
‘ supplies, can one think this, said he, to be less re-  
‘ proachful, than it would be in a man who had  
‘ lands, and had servants to cultivate them, and who  
‘ after all should let those lands lie fallow and use-  
‘ less. Depend upon it therefore, said he, that  
‘ both in the territory of friends and of enemies,  
‘ I will



‘ I will not be sparing of my care to supply my  
‘ men with all things fitting.’

‘ Well, child, said he, and do you remember  
‘ certain other things that we heretofore agreed it  
‘ was necessary not to neglect?’—— ‘ Yes,  
‘ said he, for I remember that, when I came to  
‘ you for money to give a man who pretended to  
‘ have taught me the art of commanding an army,  
‘ as you gave me the money you asked me.’——  
‘ Child, said you, did this man that you carry this  
‘ reward to, ever amongst the arts and business of  
‘ a general mention any thing of œconomy to you?  
‘ For soldiers in an army are not less in want of  
‘ things necessary than are domestics in a family :  
‘ and when, telling you the truth, I said that he  
‘ had not made the least mention of it, you ask-  
‘ ed me again :——Whether he had spoken to  
‘ me concerning the health and strength of my  
‘ men ? As that a general ought to mind these  
‘ things, as well as the leading and managing of  
‘ them in action ; when I told you, no ; you again,  
‘ asked me, —— Whether he had taught me  
‘ how to take care to make my men the most able  
‘ at all warlike exercises ; and when I denied this  
‘ too ; you enquired again, ——Whether he had  
‘ given me any instruction, how I might raise spirit  
‘ and courage in an army ; for, you said, that, in  
‘ every action there were vast odds between an ar-  
‘ my’s being in spirit and out of heart. When I  
‘ denied this too, you enquired again,——Whether  
‘ he had held any discourse to teach me, how one  
‘ might best bring an army to ready obedience.  
‘ When you found, that this had not been in the  
‘ least spoken of, you at last enquired,——‘ What  
‘ it was he had taught me then, that he could say  
‘ he had taught me the art of commanding an ar-  
‘ my ? Here, I replied, and told you the tactics, or  
‘ the art of forming and moving in order.——You,  
‘ laughing at this, ran over each particular, asking  
‘ me



‘ me what use there was in generalship of tactics  
‘ without necessaries ? what without health ? what  
‘ without skill in the arts that have been invented  
‘ for the use of war ? what without obedience ?—  
‘ So you made it evident to me, that this tactic art,  
‘ was but a small part of generalship. And when I  
‘ asked whether you were able to teach me any of  
‘ these matters, you bid me go my ways, and dis-  
‘ course with men that were reputed knowing in mi-  
‘ litary affairs, and enquire from them how these  
‘ matters stood——Upon this, I conversed with  
‘ such as I had heard were most knowing in these  
‘ matters : And with respect to health, having heard  
‘ and observed that cities, that want health, get  
‘ physicians ; and that commanders, for the sake of  
‘ their men, take physicians with them ; so when I  
‘ was placed in this station I presently took care of  
‘ this : And I believe, father,’ said he, ‘ that I have  
‘ men with me that are very able in the art of phy-  
‘ sic.’ To this the father replied ; ‘ But, child,’  
said he, ‘ these men that you speak of are like men-  
‘ ders of torn cloths ; so when people are sick, phy-  
‘ sicians cure them : But your care of health is to  
‘ be of a nobler kind ; to prevent the army’s be-  
‘ coming sickly, is what you ought to take care of.

‘ AND which way, father,’ said he, ‘ shall I be  
‘ able to do this ?’ ‘ Why if you are to stay some-  
‘ time in a place, you ought not to be careless in  
‘ your choice of a healthy camp : And in this you  
‘ will not be deceived, provided you are but care-  
‘ ful ; for men are continually talking of healthy  
‘ and unhealthy places, and upon the places them-  
‘ selves, there are sure witnesses to give their testi-  
‘ mony either way, both by their persons and com-  
‘ plexions. But then it will not suffice you to con-  
‘ sider places only, but pray recollect what course  
‘ you have taken yourself, in your endeavours to  
‘ preserve your health.’ Cyrus then said, ‘ In the  
‘ first



‘ first place, I endeavour not to over-fill myself ;  
 ‘ for it is a very burthensome thing ; and then what  
 ‘ I take down I work off by exercise. By this  
 ‘ means I think that I preserve health and acquire  
 ‘ vigour.’ ‘ In the same manner therefore, child,  
 said he, ‘ you must take care of others.’ ‘ And  
 ‘ shall we have leisure,’ said he, ‘ father ! to exer-  
 ‘ cise the soldiers in this manner ?’ ‘ You will not  
 ‘ only have leisure,’ said the father, ‘ but necessity  
 ‘ will oblige you to it ; for an army that will do its  
 ‘ duty, must never be at rest, but employed either  
 ‘ in distressing the enemy, or making advantages to  
 ‘ themselves. It is a difficult matter for a single  
 ‘ man to be maintained idle, and yet more difficult  
 ‘ for a family ; but most difficult of all to maintain  
 ‘ an army idle. For in an army, from the lowest  
 ‘ to the highest, there are many mouths, and what  
 ‘ they get they spend very lavishly ; so that it is ne-  
 ‘ ver fit for an army to be idle.’ ‘ You seem to  
 ‘ me, father !’ said he, ‘ to say that as an idle hus-  
 ‘ bandman is good for nothing, so is an idle gene-  
 ‘ ral good for nothing. But unless some god blast  
 ‘ my endeavours, I take it upon me to shew you a  
 ‘ diligent and active general, and soldiers well sup-  
 ‘ plied with all things necessary, and to take care  
 ‘ that their bodies shall be in the best condition.—  
 ‘ But with respect to the several military arts, fa-  
 ‘ ther !’ said he, in my opinion, ‘ He that should  
 ‘ establish games in the several kinds, and propose  
 ‘ certain rewards to such as should excel in them,  
 ‘ would make them be best practised, so as to have  
 ‘ them ready for use upon occasion.’ ‘ Child,’ said  
 he, ‘ You say very well ; for by doing this, you will  
 ‘ see the several orders and divisions of your men  
 ‘ like sets of dancers always performing their pro-  
 ‘ per parts.’

‘ But then,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ with respect to the rai-  
 ‘ sing courage and spirit amongst the soldiers ; I think  
 ‘ nothing more effectual, than to give the men great  
 ‘ hopes



‘ hopes of advantage.’ ‘ But child,’ ‘ said he, this  
‘ expedient is just as if any one in hunting should  
‘ always encourage the dogs in the same manner that  
‘ is used when the beast is in view ; for one that  
‘ should do thus, would have them very eager and  
‘ ready at his encouragement at first, but if he often  
‘ deceived them they would at last give no attention  
‘ to his encouragement, when the beast was really  
‘ in view. It is the same with respect to these hopes ;  
‘ if any one should balk men often, after having  
‘ raised them to mighty expectations, he would not  
‘ at last be able to prevail with them, though he talk-  
‘ ed to them of hopes never so real and well ground-  
‘ ed. But, child,’ said he, ‘ you must be very cau-  
‘ tious in saying any thing that you do not very well  
‘ know ; The same thing sometimes said by others  
‘ may do the business ; your own encouragement  
‘ you must, with the utmost care, preserve in cre- VI.  
‘ dit for the greatest occasions.’ ‘ Indeed, father,’  
said *Cyrus*, ‘ in my opinion you say perfectly well,  
‘ and this way is to me much the more agreeable.’

‘ BUT in the matter of rendering the soldiers  
‘ obedient, I take myself, father ! not to be un-  
‘ skilled. For presently from a boy you took  
‘ me under discipline, and obliged me to be obe-  
‘ dient to you ; then you gave me up to my teach-  
‘ ers, and they did the same thing : Then again  
‘ when I became one of the youth, our ruler took  
‘ effectual care, in this matter ; and there are ma-  
‘ ny laws that in my opinion tend chiefly to the  
‘ teaching of these two things, how to govern, and  
‘ how to obey ; And upon considering them, I think  
‘ I find that the most proper means, to enforce obe-  
‘ dience, is to praise and recompence the obedi-  
‘ ent, and to disgrace and punish the disobedi-  
‘ ent.’ ‘ Indeed child,’ said he, ‘ to a forced obe-  
‘ dience this is the way ; but to a willing obe-  
‘ dience, which is much the better, there is another  
‘ way



‘ way and a readier. For whoever men take to be  
‘ more knowing than themselves in what is for  
‘ their interest and advantage ; such a one they obey  
‘ with pleasure. This you may know to be true in  
‘ many other cases, as well as particularly in that of  
‘ sick people, who are mighty ready and zealous in  
‘ sending for such as may prescribe what is fit for  
‘ them to do ; so at sea, the people that are on  
‘ board, are very ready and zealous to obey their  
‘ pilots ; and travellers are extremely averse to part  
‘ with such as they think know the roads better  
‘ than themselves : But when men think that they  
‘ shall be injured by their obedience, they will nei-  
‘ ther yield to punishments nor be raised by re-  
‘ wards ; for no one willingly takes a reward to his  
‘ own prejudice.’ ‘ You say, father,’ said he, ‘ that  
‘ nothing more effectually procures one obedience  
‘ than to appear to have more wisdom and know-  
‘ ledge than those that one rules.’ ‘ I do say so,’  
says he. ‘ And how, father,’ said he, ‘ shall one  
‘ be best able to raise such an opinion of one’s self ?’  
‘ Child,’ said he, ‘ there is no readier way to appear  
‘ wise and knowing in things wherein you desire to  
‘ appear so, than to be in reality knowing in those  
‘ things ; and considering the things in particular  
‘ you will find, that what I say is true. For if you  
‘ would appear a good husbandman, a good horse-  
‘ man, a good physician, a good player upon the  
‘ flute, or any other artist whatever, when you real-  
‘ ly are not so ; consider how many contrivances  
‘ you must use in order to appear so. And if you  
‘ can prevail with a great many people to commend  
‘ you, that you may gain a reputation, and if you  
‘ purchase fine instruments, and furniture belonging  
‘ to each of the arts, you are then an impostor.  
‘ And soon after when you come to give proof of  
‘ your skill, you would be convicted, and would ap-  
‘ pear an arrogant boaster. But with respect to fu-  
‘ ture



‘ ture time, and to what may or may not turn to  
‘ advantage in the consequence, what is the way to  
‘ make one’s self in this really wise and knowing ?  
‘ It is plain, child,’ ‘ said he, by learning every  
‘ thing that one can acquire the knowledge of by  
‘ learning, as you have learned the tactic art ; but  
‘ with respect to what is not to be learnt from men  
‘ nor attained to by human foresight, consulting the  
‘ gods in such cases by divination, you will make  
‘ yourself more knowing than others : And what  
‘ you find most proper to be done, you are to take  
‘ care that it be done ; For to see to the execution  
‘ of what is proper, is more the part of a man of  
‘ prudence than to neglect it.’

‘ But then,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ as to the being beloved  
‘ by those that one rules, which is amongst the  
‘ things that I take to be of the greatest importance.  
‘ It is evident, that the way is the same as it is to  
‘ gain the love of friends : for I know very well that  
‘ one ought to be seen doing them service.’ ‘ But  
‘ child,’ said he, ‘ it is a matter of great difficulty  
‘ to be always able to serve those that one has a mind  
‘ to serve ; but to be observed to rejoice with them  
‘ when any good fortune befalls them ; and to grieve  
‘ with them when any thing ill ; to appear zealous  
‘ to assist them in their distresses ; afraid least they  
‘ should miscarry in any thing ; and to endeavour  
‘ to prevent this by care and circumspection ; these  
‘ are things that you ought rather to concur with  
‘ them in. And in point of action, the commander  
‘ ought to be observed to undergo more heat in the  
‘ summer, and in the winter more cold, and in great  
‘ fatigues more labour and pains than others ; for  
‘ all these things contribute to the being beloved by  
‘ those that are under one’s government.’ ‘ You say,  
‘ father,’ said he, that a commander ought in all  
‘ respects to undergo more than those that he com-  
‘ mands.’ ‘ I do say it,’ said he ; ‘ And be of good  
‘ courage,



‘ courage, child, for be assured, that bodies being  
‘ alike, the same labours do not fall equally heavy  
‘ upon the commander, and the private man ; For  
‘ glory makes those labours lighter to the com-  
‘ mander, and the being conscious to himself that  
‘ in whatever he does, he does not lie concealed.’

‘ BUT then, father ! when the soldiers are sup-  
‘ plied with all things necessary, when they are in  
‘ health, and able to undergo labour, when they  
‘ are skilful and well exercised in all the military  
‘ arts, when they are ambitious to appear brave  
‘ men, when obedience is more pleasing to them,  
‘ than the contrary ; would not you think a man  
‘ wise who should then desire upon the first oppor-  
‘ tunity to bring them to an engagement with the  
‘ enemy :’ ‘ Yes truly,’ said he, ‘ provided that  
‘ he had the enemy at a proper advantage. But if  
‘ otherwise, the better I thought of myself, and the  
‘ better I thought of my men, the more upon my  
‘ guard would I be ; and as in other things that we  
‘ think of greatest value to us, so in these, we  
‘ should endeavour to have them secured in the  
‘ strongest manner.’

‘ AND what is the best way, father, to take ad-  
‘ vantage of the enemy ?’ ‘ Truly, child,’ said he,  
‘ this is no contemptible nor simple business that  
‘ you enquire about. But be it known to you, that  
‘ he who is to do this must be full of wiles, a dis-  
‘ sembler, crafty, deceitful, a thief and a robber,  
‘ and must take advantage of his enemy in all man-  
‘ ner of ways.’ Cyrus, laughing at this, cried out,  
‘ O *Hercules* ! what a man, father, do you say that  
‘ I must be ?’ ‘ Such a one, child,’ said he, ‘ as  
‘ may yet have the strictest regard to law and jus-  
‘ tice.’ ‘ Why then,’ said, ‘ while we were boys,  
‘ and while we were youths, did you teach us the  
‘ direct contrary ?’ ‘ And so truly we do still,’  
said he, ‘ with respect to friends and fellow-citizens.  
‘ But



‘ But do you not know, that in order to injure enemies, you have learned a great many mischievous arts?’ ‘ Not I, father,’ said he. ‘ To what end then,’ said he, ‘ did you learn the use of the bow? and to throw the javelin? To what end did you learn to deceive wild boars with toils and trenches, and stags with snares and gins? What is the reason that in encountering lions, bears, and leopards, you do not put yourself upon an even footing with them, but endeavour to take all advantages in engaging them? Do not you know that these are all mischievous artifices, deceits, subtilties, and takings of advantage?’ ‘ Yes truly,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ against beasts; but if I was discovered intending to deceive a man, I got a good many stripes for it.’ ‘ Nor did we, I think,’ said he, ‘ allow you to shoot with a bow, or throw a javelin at a man; but we taught you to throw at a mark, not that you might at that time do mischief to your friends; but that in case of war, you might be able to take your aim at men. And we instructed you to practice deceits, and to take advantages not upon men, but upon beasts, not that you might hurt your friends by these means, but that in case a war should happen, you might not be unpractised in them.’——‘ Therefore,’ said he, ‘ father, if it be of use to know both how to do men good, and how to do them harm, it ought to have been taught us how to practise both upon men.’——‘ Child,’ said he, ‘ in the time of our forefathers, there is said to have been a certain teacher of youth, who, just as you desire, taught the boys both to deal justly and unjustly; to be true and to be false; to deceive and not to deceive; to practise calumny, and not to practise it; to take advantage, and not to take advantage. And he distinguished what was to be practised towards friends, and what towards enemies: And proceeding yet farther, he taught,

‘ that



‘ that it was just even to deceive friends, if it were  
 ‘ done for their good, and just to play the thief and  
 ‘ to steal from friends, what belonged to them, if  
 ‘ it were done for their good. And this teacher was  
 ‘ obliged to exercise the boys one against the other  
 ‘ in the practice of these things ; as they say the  
 ‘ *Greeks* teach to deceive in wrestling ; and exer-  
 ‘ cise the boys in it one against another, that they  
 ‘ may know how to put it in practice. Some  
 ‘ therefore, having so natural an aptness to deceive,  
 ‘ and take advantage, and perhaps no natural un-  
 ‘ aptness to make profit and advantage to them-  
 ‘ selves, did not refrain from using their endeavours  
 ‘ to take advantages upon friends. Upon this,  
 ‘ therefore, a decree was made, which is yet in  
 ‘ force among us ; to teach the boys simply and di-  
 ‘ rectly, as we teach our servants in their behaviour  
 ‘ towards us, to tell truth, not to deceive, not to  
 ‘ steal, not to take advantage ; and if they trans-  
 ‘ gress in these things, to punish them, that  
 ‘ being so accustomed to these manners, they  
 ‘ might become more mild and tractable citizens.  
 ‘ But when they came to the age that you now are  
 ‘ at, to teach them what is lawful with respect to  
 ‘ enemies, seemed what might be done securely ;  
 ‘ for it did not seem probable that being bred to-  
 ‘ gether with a reverence for each other, you should  
 ‘ afterwards break out so as to become wild and sa-  
 ‘ vage citizens : just as we avoid discoursing con-  
 ‘ cerning the affairs of the beautiful goddess before  
 ‘ very young people, lest, a freedom from restraint  
 ‘ being added to a vehement desire, they should fall  
 ‘ into great excess in their dealings that way.’  
 — ‘ To me, therefore,’ said he, ‘ father, as being  
 ‘ a very late learner of these artifices, do not refuse  
 ‘ to teach them if you know any ; that I may  
 ‘ take advantage of the enemy.’ ‘ Do all then,’  
 said he, ‘ that is in your power, with your own men,  
 ‘ in



‘ in the best order, to take the enemy in disorder ;  
‘ the enemy unarmed, with your own men armed ;  
‘ the enemy sleeping, with your own men waking ;  
‘ the enemy open and exposed to you, yourself be-  
‘ ing concealed and in the dark to them ; to fall  
‘ upon them while engaged in difficult places, your-  
‘ self being master of a place of strength.’ ‘ And  
‘ how,’ said he, ‘ can one possibly catch the enemy  
‘ making such mistakes as these?’ ‘ Because,  
‘ child,’ said he, ‘ both the enemy and your-  
‘ selves are obliged by necessity to undergo many  
‘ things of this kind. For you must both get pro-  
‘ visions ; you must both necessarily have rest ; and  
‘ in the morning you must all almost together retire  
‘ for necessary occasions ; and in your marches, you  
‘ must make use of such roads as you find, what-  
‘ ever they are ; considering all these things, in  
‘ whatever part you know yourself to be the weak-  
‘ est, in that you must be the most watchful ; and  
‘ in whatever part you observe the enemy to be  
‘ most exposed, in that you must attack him.’

‘ Is it in these things only, said *Cyrus*, that ad-  
‘ vantages are to be taken ? or, may it be done in  
‘ others?’——‘ It may be done in others, child,’  
said he, ‘ and more effectually ; For in these cases  
‘ men, for the most part, place strong guards, know-  
‘ ing full well that they are necessary : They that  
‘ would deceive the enemy may possibly, by raising  
‘ in them a confidence and security, surprize them  
‘ unguarded ; or by letting themselves be pursued,  
‘ may bring the enemy into disorder, and enticing  
‘ them on, by their flight into a disadvantageous  
‘ post may there attack them : But you, child !  
‘ who are fond of skill in all these affairs, must not  
‘ make use of such things only as you have been  
‘ informed of ; you must be yourself the contriver  
‘ of some stratagems to put in practice against the  
‘ enemy. For as musicians do not only deal in such  
‘ songs as they have been taught, but endeavour to  
VOL. I. F compose



‘ compose others : And as in music, such pieces as  
‘ are new, and as one may say, in flower, meet  
‘ with success and approbation ; so in affairs of  
‘ war, new contrivances are best approved ; for  
‘ they are most capable of deceiving the enemy.’—  
‘ But child ! said he, if you do no more than trans-  
‘ fer to men those contrivances that you have used  
‘ to ensnare little animals, do not you think, said  
‘ he, you will go a great way in the art of taking  
‘ advantage of your enemy ? For in order to catch  
‘ birds, you used to rise and go out in the night,  
‘ in the hardest winter ; and before the birds were  
‘ stirring, you had your nets ready laid for them.  
‘ And a moveable foundation was disguised, and  
‘ made like an immoveable one ; You had birds  
‘ ready taught to serve your ends, and to deceive  
‘ those of their own kind : You yourself lay hid,  
‘ but so as to see them, and not to be seen by them ;  
‘ And you watched your opportunity to draw your  
‘ nets and to prevent the birds escaping. Then  
‘ with respect to the hare ; because she feeds in the  
‘ dusk, and makes away to her form by day, you  
‘ keep dogs ; some of them to find her by the scent,  
‘ and because she takes to her heels, as soon as she  
‘ is discovered, you have other dogs, that are pro-  
‘ per to take her at her course ; and if she escape  
‘ these, then, having before discovered the meeshes  
‘ and to what parts the hares choose to run, in these  
‘ places you lay nets that are hardly to be seen ;  
‘ that in the eagerness of her course throwing her-  
‘ self into the net, she may be hampered ; And  
‘ that she may not escape this snare, you set people  
‘ to watch what passes ; and these from some places  
‘ near, are presently upon her ; You yourself fol-  
‘ low her ; You astonish and amaze her with cla-  
‘ mour and noise that never quits her, so that in  
‘ this distraction she is taken. And you make  
‘ those that are set to watch lie concealed, with in-  
‘ structions,



‘ instructions before-hand to be perfectly still and si-  
‘ lent. As I said before, therefore, if you would form  
‘ some such contrivances against men, I do not  
‘ know that you would leave one enemy alive. But  
‘ if there is a necessity to fight upon even terms with  
‘ respect to situation, openly, and both parties prepa-  
‘ red and armed, in such a case, child, those advanta-  
‘ ges that you have been long before provided  
‘ with, are of great weight ; I mean those when the  
‘ bodies of your men are duly exercised, their  
‘ minds keen, and all the soldiers arts well prac-  
‘ tised. Besides, it is very necessary that you  
‘ should know, that whoever they are that you  
‘ desire should be obedient to you, they on  
‘ their part will desire you to be provident  
‘ and careful of them : Therefore never be re-  
‘ miss, but consider at night what your men shall  
‘ do when it is day ; and consider in the day how  
‘ matters may be upon the best foot with respect to  
‘ the passing of the night. But as to the forming  
‘ your army for battle ; the marching them either  
‘ by day or by night, through narrow or open  
‘ ways, through mountains or plains ; How to  
‘ encamp ; How to place your guards and  
‘ watches both by night and day ; How to lead to-  
‘ wards the enemy ; How to retreat from them ;  
‘ How to march by a city belonging to the enemy ;  
‘ How to march up to a rampart ; and to retreat  
‘ from it ; How to pass woods or rivers ; how to  
‘ be upon the guard, either against horse or against  
‘ men armed with javelin or bow : And if, when  
‘ you are marching by way of either wing, the  
‘ enemy should appear, How to form a front  
‘ against them ; and if you are marching by your  
‘ front, and that the enemy appear in another part  
‘ and not in front ; How to lead against them ;  
‘ How to get the best intelligence of the enemy’s  
‘ affairs ; And how best to conceal your own from  
‘ them :



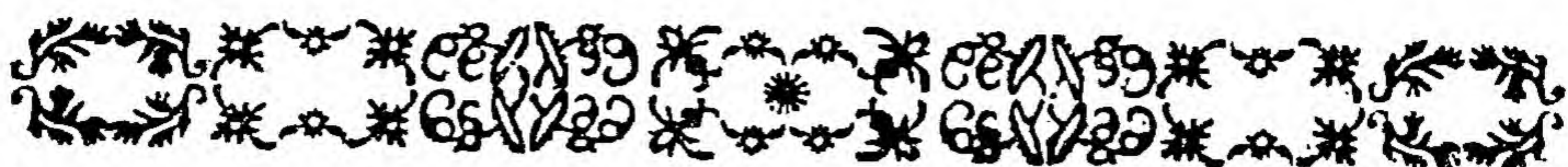
‘ them : In all these matters what can I say to you?  
‘ You have often heard from me all that I knew  
‘ of them, and besides, whoever you have thought  
‘ knowing in any of these affairs, you have not ne-  
‘ glected to take their information ; nor are you  
‘ unskilled in them. Therefore according to the se-  
‘ veral occurrences, you must always make use of  
‘ these things as they appear to be to your advan-  
‘ tage.----And take my instruction, child,’ said he,  
‘ likewise in these things, and which are of the  
‘ greatest importance. Never engage either your-  
‘ self or the army in any thing contrary to the sacri-  
‘ fices and auguries ; reflecting how men have cho-  
‘ sen to engage in certain actions at hazard, and  
‘ without knowing at all, on which side of the  
‘ choice they should meet with their advantage.  
‘ This you may be convinced of by things that oft  
‘ happen ; there are many instances of men, and  
‘ they such as have been thought the wisest, who  
‘ have persuaded some to begin a war against others,  
‘ who have destroyed those that have been per-  
‘ suaded to be the aggressors ; There are instances  
‘ of many, who have raised both cities and private  
‘ men, and have suffered the greatest misfortunes  
‘ at the hand of those they had so raised. There  
‘ are instances of many, who when they might have  
‘ used others as their friends in a mutual intercourse  
‘ of good offices, and who choosing to hold them  
‘ rather as slaves than as friends, have met with re-  
‘ venge and punishment at their hands. Many,  
‘ who, not liking to live contentedly, possessing a  
‘ part, and affecting to be lords of all, have by this  
‘ means lost what was their own. And many, who  
‘ have acquired the much-wished-for metal gold,  
‘ have been destroyed by it.-----So human wisdom  
‘ knows no more how to choose the best, than one  
‘ who should determine to act as chance and the lot  
‘ should



‘ should decide. The *Gods!* child, who are eter-  
‘ nal, know all things that have been, all things that  
‘ are, and all that shall happen in consequence of  
‘ every thing. And when men consult them they  
‘ signify to those, that they are propitious to, what  
‘ they ought to do, and what not. And if they  
‘ will not give advice to all, it is no ways wonder-  
‘ ful; for they are not under any necessity to take  
‘ care of those of whom they are not willing to  
‘ take care.’







*CYROPÆDIA:*  
OR, THE  
INSTITUTION  
OF  
*CRURUS.*

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By *XENOPHON.*

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BOOK II.

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ISCOURSING in this manner, they arrived at the borders of *Persia*; when an eagle, appearing to the right, led the way before them. And when they had made their supplications to the gods, and heroes, guardians of *Persia*, to dismiss them favourably and propitiously, they passed the borders. When they had passed them, they again made supplication to the gods, guardians of *Media*, to receive them propitiously and favourably; and having done this and embraced each other as usual, the father returned into *Persia*, and *Cyrus* marched on into *Media* to *Cyaxares*.

WHEN



WHEN *Cyrus* came to *Cyaxares* in *Media*, they first embraced each other, as usual, and *Cyaxares* afterwards asked *Cyrus*, ‘What force he was to bring him?’ He replied ‘Thirty thousand of such as have been before with you and served for their pay; But there are others coming, who have never yet served out of their own country, and are of the order of those that are free, and equally entitled to all honours,’ ‘And how many of these?’ said *Cyaxares*. ‘The number of them,’ replied *Cyrus*, ‘will not please you, when you hear it; But consider,’ said he, ‘that those who are called the alike-honoured, though but few, rule with ease the rest of the *Persians*, who are very numerous. But,’ said he, ‘are you in any real want of these men? or, are you under a vain alarm, and the enemy not coming?’ ‘Indeed they are,’ said he, ‘and in great numbers.’ ‘How does this appear?’ ‘Why, a great many people who come from thence, some by one means and some by another, all say the same thing.’ ‘Then engage with these men we must.’ ‘We must of necessity,’ said he.——‘Well then,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘why do not you tell me whether you know what these forces are, that are coming upon us, and what we have of our own; that, being apprized of both, we may afterwards consult how to carry on the war in the best manner.’ ‘Attend then,’ said *Cyaxares*;——‘*Cræsus* the *Lydian* is said to bring with him 10000 horse, targeteers and archers upwards of 40000. They say that *Arsamas*, who governs the greater *Phrygia*, brings 8000 horse; targeteers and lancemen not less than 40000. That *Aribæus* king of the *Capadocians*, brings 6000 horse, archers and targeteers not less than 30000. The *Arabian Maragdus* 10000 horse, 100 chariots, and of slingers a very  
‘considerable



‘ considerable body. As to the *Greeks* that are  
 ‘ settled in *Asia*, there’s nothing said of certain  
 ‘ whether they attend the expedition or no. They  
 ‘ say that *Gabæus*, who rules those that inhabit the  
 ‘ country that extends from *Phrygia* on the *Hellef-*  
 ‘ *pont* to the plain of *Cayster*, contributes 6000  
 ‘ horse, and 10000 targeteers. The *Carians*, *Cili-*  
 ‘ *cians*, and *Paphlagonians*, though invited, they say,  
 ‘ do not attend the expedition. The *Assyrian*, who  
 ‘ possesses *Babylon* and the rest of *Assyria*, will, as I  
 ‘ judge, bring no less than 20000 horse, chariots,  
 ‘ as I know very well, not more than 200 ; but I  
 ‘ believe a vast body of foot ; for so he is accustom-  
 ‘ ed to do, when he falls in upon us.’——‘ The  
 ‘ enemy then,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ you say amount to  
 ‘ 60000 horse, and to more than 200000 targeteers  
 ‘ and archers.——To proceed then, what do you  
 ‘ say is the number of your own forces ?’——The  
 ‘ *Median* horse are above 10000 ; and of targeteers  
 ‘ and archers there may be perhaps in our own ter-  
 ‘ ritories about 60000 ; and of the *Armenians*, our  
 ‘ neighbours, we shall have 4000 horse and 20000  
 ‘ foot.-----‘ You say then,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ that we  
 ‘ shall have in horse less than a third part of the  
 ‘ enemy’s force of that sort, and scarce half the  
 ‘ number of their foot.’ ‘ What !’ said *Cyaxares* ;  
 ‘ do you think those *Persians*, that you say you  
 ‘ bring, are but an inconsiderable number ?’ ‘ We  
 ‘ will take another time,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ to consider  
 ‘ whether we want men or no.-----At present, pray  
 ‘ tell me what is the method of fight that is in use  
 ‘ with those several people ?’ ‘ They almost all,  
 ‘ said *Cyaxares*, ‘ use the same. Some of their men,  
 ‘ as well as of our own, use the bow, and others,  
 ‘ the javelin.’ ‘ Then,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ since such  
 ‘ are their arms, they must necessarily engage at a  
 ‘ distance.’ ‘ Necessarily,’ said *Cyaxares*. ‘ In  
 ‘ this case therefore,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ the victor falls  
 ‘ to



‘ to the greater number : For the few, wounded by  
‘ those weapons are much sooner destroyed by the  
‘ many, than the many by the few.’ If it be so,  
‘ *Cyrus*, said he, what way can one find better than  
‘ to send to the *Persians*, acquaint them that if the  
‘ *Medes* sustain any loss the misfortune will reach  
‘ to themselves, and at the same time to require from  
‘ them a greater force,’ ‘ Be assured, said *Cyrus*,  
‘ that if all the *Persians* should come, we should  
‘ not exceed the enemy in numbers.’ ‘ What  
‘ have you in view then that is better ?’ ‘ Why,  
‘ said *Cyrus*, ‘ If I were you, I would immediately  
‘ make, for all the *Persians* that are coming, such  
‘ arms as those men, that are called the alike-ho-  
‘ noured come provided with ; And these are, a  
‘ corselet about the breast, a shield for the left  
‘ hand, and a sword or cutlass for the right. If you  
‘ provide these arms, you will make it the safest  
‘ way for us to come to a close fight with the ene-  
‘ my ; and better for the enemy to fly than to stand  
‘ their ground. For our own station, said he, we  
‘ appoint against those that stand their ground ;  
‘ and those that fly we allot to you and your horse,  
‘ that they may not have time to make their escape  
‘ or to turn again.’ Thus *Cyrus* spoke.—*Cyaxares*  
‘ was of opinion that he said very right, and he  
‘ thought no longer of sending for more men, but ap-  
‘ plied himself to the providing of the arms before  
‘ mentioned. And they were scarce got ready be-  
fore the *Persian* gentlemen or alike-honoured arriv-  
ed, bringing the *Persian* army with them.

UPON this *Cyrus* is said to have called the gentle-  
men together, and to have spoke to them thus :  
‘ Friends ! I who saw, that your persons were arm-  
‘ ed, and your minds prepared for close fight with  
‘ your enemy, and knew that the *Persians* who at-  
‘ tend you were armed in such manner as to en-  
‘ gage only at a distance, was afraid that being but  
‘ few in number and destitute of others to support  
‘ you ;



‘ you, when you fell in with the great number of  
 ‘ your enemy, you might come by some misfor-  
 ‘ tune. Now therefore, said he, that you are come  
 ‘ and bring with you men whose bodies are not  
 ‘ contemptible, and who are to be supplied with  
 ‘ arms like your own ; to raise their minds now is  
 ‘ your part. For it is the business of a commander  
 ‘ not only to be himself brave, but to take such  
 ‘ care of those that he rules, that they may be made  
 ‘ as brave as possible.’——Thus he said.

THEY were all much pleased ; imagining they  
 should now engage the enemy with more to assist  
 and support them. And one of them spoke to this  
 ‘ effect. ‘ Perhaps, said he, I shall be thought to  
 ‘ talk strangely if I advise *Cyrus*, Instead of Us, to  
 ‘ say something to these men, who are to be our sup-  
 ‘ porters and fellow-combatants, when they receive  
 ‘ their arms. For, I know, said he, that the words  
 ‘ of those who have the most power to do service  
 ‘ or to do hurt, sink deeper into the minds of the  
 ‘ hearers. And the presents that such men make,  
 ‘ though they happen to be less than what men may  
 ‘ receive from others like themselves, yet the re-  
 ‘ ceivers value them more. So now, said he, the  
 ‘ *Persians* will be much more pleased if they re-  
 ‘ ceive an exhortation from *Cyrus*, than if they re-  
 ‘ ceive it from us. And when they are placed in  
 ‘ the degree of the alike-honoured, they will think  
 ‘ themselves more strongly confirmed in it, if done  
 ‘ by the son of our king, and by our commander  
 ‘ in chief, than if they are introduced to it by us.  
 ‘ Nor ought our endeavours to be wanting ; but  
 ‘ we should use all possible means to excite and raise  
 ‘ the courage of these men ; for how much soever  
 ‘ they become braver and better men, it will be so  
 ‘ much the more to our advantage.

So *Cyrus* setting down the arms in a place expo-  
 sed to view, and calling together all the *Persian*  
 soldiers,



soldiers, spoke to this effect. ‘ Men of *Persia*, you  
‘ were born and bred in the same country that we  
‘ were ; You have bodies that are no ways inferior  
‘ to ours, and you ought to have souls too not infe-  
‘ rior to ours. And yet, though such you are in  
‘ yourselves, in our own country you were not upon  
‘ an equal foot with us. Not that you are excluded  
‘ from it by us, but by the necessity you were un-  
‘ der of providing yourselves with necessaries. Now,  
‘ with the help of the gods, it shall be my care  
‘ that you shall be supplied with these. And even  
‘ though you may be in any sort inferior to us, yet  
‘ by accepting these arms that are such as we have  
‘ ourselves, it is in your power, if you will, to run  
‘ the same hazard with us ; and if any thing great  
‘ and advantageous happen to us upon it, to be  
‘ thought worthy of like advantages with ourselves.  
‘ Heretofore, you have used the bow and the jave-  
‘ lin ; we have done the same. And if you are in-  
‘ ferior to us in the practice of these, it is not at all  
‘ wonderful ; for you have not had the leisure that  
‘ we have had, to exercise yourselves in them. But  
‘ in this sort of arms, we have no advantage above  
‘ you ; for every one will have a corselet, fitted to  
‘ his breast, for the left-hand a shield, which you  
‘ are all accustomed to wear ; and for the right,  
‘ a sword or cutlass, which you are to use against  
‘ the enemy ; not needing to be mindful of any  
‘ thing but how not to miss your blow. Under  
‘ these arms therefore what difference can there be  
‘ between one and another amongst us, unless it be  
‘ in boldness, in which you ought not to be inferior  
‘ to us ? How should it be our part more than yours  
‘ to be desirous of victory, by which all things  
‘ great and advantageous are acquired and preserv-  
‘ ed ? How can superiority of arms be less necessa-  
‘ ry to you than to us, when it is by this, that all  
‘ that the conquered possess becomes yielded to the  
‘ victors ?’



‘ victors ?’——In conclusion he said, ‘ You have  
 ‘ heard all these things ; you all of you see your  
 ‘ arms ; He that thinks fit, let him take them, and  
 ‘ list himself under his officer into the same order  
 ‘ and degree with us. He that thinks it enough for  
 ‘ him, to be in the station of a mercenary, let him  
 ‘ continue under servile arms.’ Thus he said.-----

The *Persians* who heard him were of opinion, that if when they were invited to an equal share of all advantages, by sharing in like labours, they should not agree to it, they should then justly pass all their days in a mean and low condition. So they were all listed, and all took the arms.

DURING the time that the enemy was said to be approaching but did not actually come, *Cyrus* endeavoured to exercise the bodies of his men in order to give them strength and vigour ; to teach them how to form themselves and to move in proper order ; and to raise their minds to warlike affairs. And in the first place, being supplied with servants by *Cyaxares*, he ordered them to supply all the soldiers with every thing ready made that they wanted. And having provided for this, he left them nothing to do but to practise such things as related to war, seeming to have learned this maxim, That those men were best at any thing, who, taking off their minds from application to many things, apply themselves to one business singly. And of affairs that relate to war, cutting them off from the practise of the bow and javelin, he left them only this one thing to do, which was to fight with sword, shield, and corselet. So that he presently brought their minds to this state, that they found they were either to engage their enemy hand to hand, or to confess that they were very worthless supporters and fellow-combatants. And this was a difficult thing to be owned, by such as knew they were maintain-  
 ed



ed for nothing else but to fight for those that maintained them. Besides having considered that whatever the things are, wherein men are raised to emulation one against another, those are the things, they are most willing to exercise themselves in ; He appointed them to contend and vie with each other in all those kinds of things that he knew were fit to be exercised and practised by the soldiers.

THE things he so appointed were these. To the private man, To make himself a good soldier, obedient to his commanders ; ready to undergo labour ; to be enterprizing in dangers, but consistently with good order ; to be skilful in the military exercises ; fond of having his arms beautiful and in good condition ; and in all such matters desirous of praise. To the leader of five, to make himself such as it became the private man to be ; and to do his utmost to make his five likewise such. To the leader of ten, to make his ten such. To the captain to do the same for his company ; The colonel for his regiment ; And in the same manner, to the rest of the commanding officers, to render themselves unexceptionable and blameless ; and to take care that those who were under their command should in their several stations make those under them ready to do their duties.——The rewards he proposed in this contention were these. To the colonels, who by their care, appeared to have made themselves the best regiments, to be made commanders of a thousand ; To the captains, who appeared to have made themselves the best companies, to be made colonels, To the leaders of ten, that approved themselves the best, to be advanced to the degree of captains ; And to the leaders of five, in like manner to be advanced to the degree of leaders of ten : And to the private men, that behaved best, to be advanced to the degree of leaders of five. In  
the



the first place therefore all these officers, were well served by those they commanded, and then all the other honours, suitable to every One, attended them. He likewise gave greater hopes to those who deserved praise, in case any more than ordinary advantage should upon occasion fall in their way. He proposed also certain rewards of victory, to whole regiments and companies. So likewise to whole tens and fives, if they appeared to be the most obedient to their commanders, and to perform the things before mentioned with the greatest ardor and readiness: And the rewards to these were such as were the most proper to be bestowed in common upon a number of men. These were the things that were proposed to the army and exercised among them.

TENTS he likewise provided for them, as many in number as were the colonels; and of a size such as was sufficient for each regiment: and a regiment consisted of a hundred men. Thus they were quartered in tents by regiments. And it seemed to him to be of use to his men, in the war that was coming on, that by thus inhabiting together, they saw each other maintained alike; and there was no pretence of lying under a disadvantage, so as to allow any one to be remiss, or one to be worse than another, in acting against the enemy. It seemed to him likewise that this joint habitation was of use to them with respect to their knowing one another. For by being known, he thought that a sense of shame and reproach took more place upon all: For they who are unknown seem to act with less caution and restraint, as men do who are in the dark. And this cohabitation seemed to him to be of great service to his men with respect to exactness in their orders: For thus the colonels had their several regiments in order under them in their sleep, just as when a regiment



giment is in a body upon the march ; So the captains their companies ; The commanders of tens their tens ; And the commanders of fives their five : And this exactness in their orders seemed to him to be of great service, both to prevent their being put into disorder ; and if disordered, to settle themselves more readily into order again. Just as in the case of stones and pieces of wood that are to be fitted together ; which, if they have certain marks to make it evident to what place each of them belongs, one may with ease fit together again ; into whatever irregular form they may have been thrown. And their being thus maintained together, he thought, was of service to them, in order to make them less ready to desert each other ; Because he observed that beasts that had their maintenance together, were in great pain if separated by any One.

*CYRUS* also took care that they should never go to their dinner or supper without a sweat : For he either led them out to hunt, and gave them a sweat that way, or he contrived such sports for them as would put them into one ; or if any business happened that was to be done, he so managed it, that they should not return without sweating : For this he judged to be of service in order to make them eat with pleasure, to make them healthy, and to make them able to undergo labour : And labour he judged to be of use in making them more gentle one towards another ; Because even horses that labour jointly together, stand likewise more gently and tamely together. And they who are conscious to themselves of being duly exercised, are inspired with more bravery and courage against the enemy.

*CYRUS* likewise provided himself with a tent sufficient to contain those that he invited to sup with him ; He invited for the most part such of the colonels



lonels as he thought proper ; But he sometimes invited some of the captains, some of the commanders of ten, and some of the commanders of five ; sometimes some of the soldiers, and sometimes a whole five, a whole ten, a whole company, or a whole regiment together. He invited likewise and rewarded those that he saw practise any such thing as he desired all the others should imitate. And the things that were set before himself, and before those that he invited to supper were always alike. He always made the servants of the army likewise equal sharers in all things ; For he thought it was not less becoming him to reward those who served in the concerns of the army, than to reward heralds and ambassadors : For he was of opinion that they ought to be faithful, skilled in military affairs, and intelligent, as well as zealous in their business, quick of dispatch, diligent, and orderly : Besides, whatever good quality they had who were accounted the better sort, that *Cyrus* thought the servants ought to be possessed of ; and that it was their duty to bring themselves by practice to refuse no work, but to think it becoming them to do all things whatever that their commanders should enjoin.

AND *Cyrus* always took care that while he entertained any of them in his tent, the most agreeable subjects of discourse, and such as might excite them to good, should be thrown in amongst them. Upon a certain occasion therefore he began this discourse. ‘ Friends !’ said he, ‘ are other men, think you, any  
 ‘ ways inferior to us, by reason of their not being  
 ‘ disciplined in the same manner as we are ? or will  
 ‘ they prove not to differ from us at all, either in  
 ‘ their converse with each other, or in action against  
 ‘ the enemy.’—*Hystaspes* in answer to him said,  
 ‘ What they may prove to be in action against the  
 ‘ enemy, I do not yet know ; But by the gods !  
 ‘ some



‘ some of them seem already to be very perverse  
‘ and churlish in their conversation. For yester-  
‘ day, said he, *Cyaxares* sent certain victims to  
‘ every regiment ; and we had every one of us  
‘ three portions or more that were carried and  
‘ distributed around. Our cook began his first  
‘ distribution by me, when the person who was to  
‘ make the second distribution entered ; I bid him  
‘ begin with the last man, and carry round the con-  
‘ trary way. One therefore, from the middle of  
‘ the circle of the soldiers as they lay, cried out,  
‘ By *Jove* ! said he, there is no manner of equali-  
‘ ty or fairness in this, unless somebody begin from  
‘ us here in the middle : I hearing this was uneasy  
‘ that any of them should think they lay under a  
‘ disadvantage ; and I presently bid him come to me ;  
‘ in this he in a very orderly manner obeyed me ;  
‘ but when the portions that were distributing came  
‘ to us who were to take last, they were the least  
‘ that were left ; he then plainly discovered himself  
‘ to be very much afflicted ; and said to himself, O  
‘ ill fortune ! that I should happen to be called hi-  
‘ ther ! I then said to him, do not be disturbed ;  
‘ it will begin presently by us, and you shall take  
‘ first the biggest portion : at the third going about,  
‘ which was the last turn, he took the next after  
‘ me ; but as soon as the third person had taken,  
‘ he fancied that this man had taken a larger por-  
‘ tion than himself, and he threw back that, that  
‘ he had taken, intending to take another ; but the  
‘ cook thinking that he wanted no more meat, mo-  
‘ ved on, distributing around, before he took ano-  
‘ ther portion : here he bore so ill the misfortune  
‘ of losing the portion he had taken, that being  
‘ struck and in wrath at his ill fortune, he mispla-  
‘ ced and overturned some sauce he had remaining :  
‘ a captain, who was the nearest us seeing this,  
‘ clapped his hands, and laughed out, much d  
‘ Vol. I. G lighted ;



lighted ; I, said *Hystaspes*, made as if I coughed ; for I was not able to hold from laughing.---  
*Cyrus*, said he, such a one I do shew you one of our companions to be.'——Upon this, as was natural, they laughed.

Another of the colonels then spoke, “ *Cyrus*, said he, this *Hystaspes* it seems has met with one of a very perverse temper : but as you instructed us in the order and discipline we were to observe, and dismissed us with commands to instruct, every one his regiment, in the things he had learned from you, so I, as others did, came to a certain company, and was teaching them ; and placing the captain first, and then a young man in order after him, and so the rest, as I thought proper ; and then standing before them, and looking upon the company ; when I thought it the proper time, I gave the command to advance ; this young man, advancing before the captain, marched first ; I seeing him do thus, said to him ; Friend, what are you doing ? The man said, why I advance as you command me. But, said I, I, did not command only you to advance, but all ; then turning to his companions, Do not you hear, said he, that the colonel commands you all to advance ? Then all of them, passing the captain by, came up to me ; but when the captain made them retire back again, they were offended and said, Whom are we to obey ? For now one bids us to advance, and another will not suffer us to do it : bearing all this contentedly, and placing them as at first, I told them, that none of those behind should move till he that was before him led the way, but that they should all mind to follow their leading-man : in the mean time, there came to me a certain person that was going to *Persia*, and he bid me give him the letter I had wrote home ; now the captain knew where the letter lay ;



‘ lay ; I bid him therefore run and fetch this letter ;  
‘ He ran his way ; The young man, armed as he  
‘ was with corselet and sword followed after his cap-  
‘ tain ; The rest of his company seeing him run,  
‘ ran off with him ; and all of them back again  
‘ and brought me the letter.’—— ‘ Thus, said he, is  
‘ this company of mine mighty exact in executing  
‘ all the instructions they receive from you.’——  
The rest as was natural laughed at this guard and  
attendance upon the letter. But *Cyrus* said, ‘ O  
‘ *Jove* and all you gods ! What men have we for  
‘ our companions ! They are so easily served, that  
‘ many of them might be made one’s friends for a  
‘ little portion of meat ! And they are so obedient,  
‘ that they obey before they understand what they  
‘ are ordered to do ! For my part, I do not know  
‘ what sort of men we should wish the soldiers to  
‘ be, unless it be just such.’ And *Cyrus* thus in  
‘ laughing praised the soldiers.

THERE happened at that time to be in the tent  
a certain colonel ; his name was *Aglaitadas*, a chur-  
lish and austere sort of a man in his manners ; and  
he spoke thus ; ‘ Do you think now, *Cyrus*, said  
‘ he, that these men tell you the truth ?’ ‘ Why,  
‘ what end, said *Cyrus*, have they in lying ?’  
‘ What else, said he, but to make you laugh ; and  
‘ for this reason they tell you these stories in a vain  
‘ arrogant way.’ ‘ Good words ! pray ! said *Cyrus* ;  
‘ Do not say that they are vain and arrogant ! For  
‘ the word *arrogant* seems to me to lie upon such as  
‘ feign themselves richer or braver than they really  
‘ are ; and pretend to do what they are not able to  
‘ do ; and that plainly act thus in order to get  
‘ something and make profit to themselves ; They  
‘ that move their companions to laughter, and do  
‘ it, neither for their own gain, nor to the hearers  
‘ prejudice, nor with intent to do any manner of  
‘ harm, why may not such be called polite and  
‘ agreeable ;



‘ agreeable , much rather than arrogant ?’——  
Thus did *Cyrus* apologize for such as afforded matter of laughter.——The colonel then, who had told the pleasant story of the company of soldiers, said, ‘ If we endeavoured, *Aglaitadas* ! to make you cry, would not you blame us very much ? As there are some who in songs and discourses uttering certain melancholy notes and things, endeavour to move people by tears ; but now, though you yourself know that we are desirous to give you pleasure, and not in the least to hurt you, yet you hold us thus in great disgrace.’ By *Jove*, said *Aglaitadas*, I do, and justly ; because, in my opinion, he that makes his friend laugh does a much more worthless and insignificant thing than he who makes him cry : and you will find if you reckon right, that I say true : fathers bring their sons to a discreet and modest temper of mind, and teachers their youth to all good learning, by tears ; and it is by affliction and tears that the laws influence citizens to justice in their conduct : but can you possibly say, that your movers of laughter either do any service to the bodies of men, or form their minds to a better sense of their duty, with respect to their private families or to the public ?——Upon this, *Hystaspes* spoke in this manner ; ‘ *Aglaitadas*, said he, if you will follow my advice, you shall boldly lay out this very valuable thing upon our enemies ; and you shall endeavour to set them a crying ; but that worthless thing, laughter, you shall spend upon us, said he, here amongst your friends. I know you have a great deal of it that lies by you in store ; for you neither use nor spend it yourself ; nor do you willingly afford laughter either to your friends or to strangers : so that you have no manner of pretence to refuse bestowing it upon us.’ Then, said *Agliatadas*, Do  
‘ you



‘ you endeavour to get it out of me.’ And the leader of the company said, ‘ By *Jove*, then he is a fool indeed ; for I believe one may strike fire out of you more easily than draw laughter from you.’—At this the others laughed, knowing the temper of the man ; and *Aglaitadas*, himself smiled at it : *Cyrus*, seeing him pleased, said, ‘ Indeed, captain, you are in the wrong to corrupt the most serious man we have, by tempting him to laugh ; and to do this, said he, to one who is so great an enemy to laughter !’—Here ended this subject of discourse.

AFTER this, *Chrysfantas* spoke thus ; ‘ But *Cyrus* !’ said he, ‘ I and all that here present, consider, that there are come hither with us, men, who have some of them more merit and some less ; and if any advantage fall in our way, they will all think themselves entitled to an equal share of it : but for my part, I do not think that any thing can be more unequal amongst men, than that the good and the bad should be entitled to equal advantages.’ *Cyrus* to this said ; ‘ By the gods, then friends ! it were the best for us to give this out, and propose it to be debated in the army ; whether they think it proper, if in consequence of our labours God give us any advantage, that all should share alike in it ? Or that examining the actions of every one, we shall give to each, rewards proportionable ?’ ‘ But why,’ said *Chrysfantas*, ‘ should you give this out to be discoursed upon, and not declare that you will have it so ? Did not you declare,’ said he, ‘ What the soldiers should contend and vie with each other in ? and what the rewards of the contention should be ?’ ‘ But, by *Jove*,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ these matters and those are not alike ; For what they shall acquire by their service, that I believe, they will reckon common



‘ to them all ; But the command of the army they  
 ‘ take to be mine even from the first setting out ; so  
 ‘ that in appointing officers, I believe, they think  
 ‘ I do them no wrong.’ ‘ And do you think,’ said  
*Chryfantas*, ‘ that the multitude assembled will ever  
 ‘ decree that every one shall not have his equal  
 ‘ share ; but that the best shall have the advantage,  
 ‘ in profits and honours ? ‘ I do think it,’ said *Cyrus*,  
 ‘ partly, because of your assistance in it ; and part-  
 ‘ ly, because it is infamous to assert, that he who  
 ‘ labours most for the public, and does it most ser-  
 ‘ vice, is not entitled to the greatest rewards : and  
 ‘ I believe, that the very worst of our men, will  
 ‘ think it of service to them that the best should have  
 ‘ the advantage.’

*CYRUS* had a mind that this should be publicly  
 decreed, even upon the account of the alike-honour-  
 ed ; For he thought that they would be yet better  
 men, if they knew that they themselves were to be  
 judged by their actions and rewarded accordingly.  
 This therefore, seemed to him to be the proper op-  
 portunity to put it to the vote, whilst the alike-ho-  
 noured were dissatisfied with the claim of the mul-  
 titude to equality of shares. So it was the current  
 opinion of those in the tent to give out the discourse  
 upon the subject ; And they said that every one who  
 thought it his part to act like a man ought to give  
 his assistance in it. Upon this one of the colonels  
 laughed, and said ; I know,’ said he, ‘ a man, one  
 ‘ of the common people, who will help to justify  
 ‘ this opinion, that this equality of shares, without  
 ‘ distinction ought not to be.’ Another asked him,  
 whom he meant ; He replied, ‘ Truly, he is one of  
 ‘ my own tent, and is upon every occasion seeking  
 ‘ to get the advantage and upper-hand of others.’  
 Another then asked. ‘ And does he seek it in la-  
 ‘ bour and taking pains ? No by *Jove* !’ said he,  
 ‘ not



‘ not in that ; but here you have caught me in a  
‘ lye, for with respect to labour and things of that  
‘ kind, he always contentedly allows any one to get  
‘ the upper-hand of him that will.’

‘ FRIENDS !’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ my judgment is, that  
‘ such men, as this person speaks of, ought to be  
‘ weeded out of the army, if we intend to preserve  
‘ it in its virtue and vigour, and to render the sol-  
‘ diers obedient : For the soldiers seem to me to be  
‘ such as will follow where any one shall lead them  
‘ the way : Good and excellent men certainly endea-  
‘ vour, to lead to things good and excellent ; vicious  
‘ men, to things vicious ; And corrupt men have of-  
‘ ten more abettors, than the sober and industrious.  
‘ For vice that takes its course through present plea-  
‘ sures, has these pleasures to assist in persuading  
‘ the multitude to abet her ; But virtue that moves  
‘ upwards, has not strength enough in present occa-  
‘ sions to draw men without distinction after her ;  
‘ especially if there are others, in opposition to her,  
‘ that exhort men to follow the prone and easy tract.  
‘ They therefore who are faulty upon the account  
‘ of sloth and indolence ; these I reckon like drones  
‘ are burthensome to their companions only by the  
‘ expence of maintaining them ; But active associ-  
‘ ates in vice who prosecute their interest with in-  
‘ dustry and impudence, these are the leaders of  
‘ men to vicious courses ; For they often have it in  
‘ their power to shew them that vice will be service-  
‘ able to their interest. So that such men must en-  
‘ tirely be weeded out. Then pray, do not consi-  
‘ der how to recruit your regiments with your own  
‘ countrymen ; but, as in horses, you look for those  
‘ that are best, and not for those that are of your  
‘ own country ; so of men, take such as you think  
‘ will most contribute to your strength and good or-  
‘ der. And that it will be to our advantage to do



‘ so, This will bear me testimony ; that neither is  
 ‘ chariot swift, if it have but slow horses ; nor is it  
 ‘ true, if joined to vicious and unmanagable ones ;  
 ‘ Nor can a family be well regulated that uses vici-  
 ‘ ous servants ; but a family that wants servants, is  
 ‘ less injured than one that is confounded by unjust  
 ‘ ones. And be it known to you, friends, that the  
 ‘ turning out of the vicious, will not only be of ad-  
 ‘ vantage to you in their being out of the way ;  
 ‘ but of those that remain, they who have had vice  
 ‘ instilled into them, will discharge themselves of it  
 ‘ again ; and the good seeing the vicious punished,  
 ‘ will adhere to virtue with much more warmth and  
 ‘ zeal.’——Thus he said.—All his friends were  
 of opinion with him, and did accordingly.

AFTER this, *Cyrus* began to set jest and merri-  
 ment on foot : For, observing that one of the cap-  
 tains had brought with him a fellow-guest, and had  
 placed him next to himself ; that the man was ex-  
 cessively rough and hairy, and very ugly ; he called  
 the captain by his name, and spoke thus ; ‘ *Sam-*  
 ‘ *baulas !*’ said he, ‘ that young man that lies next  
 ‘ to you, do you carry him about with you, ac-  
 ‘ cording to the *Greek* custom, because he is hand-  
 ‘ some ?’ ‘ No, by *Jove !*’ said *Sambaulas*, but I  
 ‘ am pleased, with his conversation, and even with  
 ‘ looking at him.’——They that were present in  
 the tent, upon hearing this, looked at the man, and  
 when they saw that his face was excessive ugly,  
 they all laughed ; and one of them said, ‘ In the  
 ‘ name of all the gods ! *Sambaulas !* by what piece  
 ‘ of service has this man so tied himself to you’  
 He said, ‘ By *Jove !* friends, I will tell you, when-  
 ‘ ever I have called upon him either by night or by  
 ‘ day, he never pretended want of leisure, never  
 ‘ obeyed lazily, but always ran to his business with  
 ‘ the utmost dispatch ; As often as I have order-  
 ‘ ed him to do a thing, I never saw him execute it  
 ‘ without



‘ without putting himself into a sweat ; and he has  
‘ made the whole *twelve* such as himself, not shew-  
‘ ing them in word, but in action, what they ought  
‘ to be.’ Then some body said, ‘ Since he is  
‘ such an extraordinary man, do not you kiss him  
‘ as you do relations?’ And to this the homely  
person replied, ‘ No, by *Jove* ! said he, for he is  
‘ not one of those that are fond of labour and  
‘ pains ; and to kiss me would be as much to him,  
‘ as if he underwent the greatest toil.’

SUCH kind of discourses and things, both merry and serious, passed amongst them in the tent. And having at last performed the third libation, and made their prayers to the gods for their blessings ; they broke up their company in the tent, in order to go to rest.

THE next day, *Cyrus* assembled all the soldiers, and spoke to them to this effect. ‘ Friends ! the  
‘ conflict is at hand ; for the enemies are approach-  
‘ ing : The rewards of our victory, if we conquer,  
‘ it is evident, are our enemies themselves, and their  
‘ fortunes. On the other hand, if we are conquered  
‘ (for this ought always to be mentioned) thus like-  
‘ wise do the fortunes of the conquered stand ex-  
‘ posed as the rewards of the conquerors. There-  
‘ fore thus,’ said he, ‘ you ought to determine with  
‘ yourselves ; that when men are united as associ-  
‘ ates in war, if every one within himself makes ac-  
‘ count, that nothing will be as it ought to be, un-  
‘ less every one be inspired with zeal and ardour,  
‘ they then presently perform things great and no-  
‘ ble ; For nothing of what is proper to be done, is  
‘ in this case neglected. But when every one ima-  
‘ gines that another is to fight and act, though he  
‘ himself play the drone ; be it known to you,’ said  
he, ‘ that with such the success of things will be un-  
‘ happy to them all. God himself has so established  
‘ it ;



‘ it ; to those who will not impose upon themselves  
 ‘ the task of labouring for their own advantage, he  
 ‘ gives other task-masters. Now therefore,’ said  
 ‘ he, let some one stand up and speak to this point ;  
 ‘ whether he think that virtue will be the better  
 ‘ practised amongst us, if he who chooses to under-  
 ‘ go the greatest toil and run the greatest hazards  
 ‘ obtain the greatest rewards ? or if we all see that  
 ‘ the worthless man lies under no disadvantage, but  
 ‘ that all of us are to share alike ?

HERE, *Chryfantas* one of the alike-honoured, one  
 who was neither tall in his person, nor whose looks  
 bespoke either courage or spirit, but a man of ex-  
 cellent understanding, rose up and spoke thus : ‘ In  
 ‘ truth, *Cyrus*,’ said he, ‘ my opinion is, that you do  
 ‘ not propose this to our debate, as judging it fit  
 ‘ that the worthless should stand upon a foot of  
 ‘ equal advantage with the deserving ; but to try  
 ‘ whether there be such a man amongst us that will  
 ‘ venture to discover himself to be of opinion, that  
 ‘ he who performs nothing that’s great and noble,  
 ‘ should share equally of those advantages that are  
 ‘ gained by the virtue and bravery of others. I am,’  
 ‘ said he, ‘ neither swift of foot, nor have I great  
 ‘ strength and vigour in my hands and arms ; and,  
 ‘ by what I can perform with my person, I reckon  
 ‘ I can not be judged to be the first man, nor yet  
 ‘ the second, I believe not the thousandth, perhaps  
 ‘ not the ten thousandth : But this I very well  
 ‘ know, that if they who are men of strength set  
 ‘ their hands vigorously to the work, I shall have  
 ‘ my share in some advantage, or other, and as  
 ‘ much as is justly due to me : but if mean and  
 ‘ worthless men shall do nothing, and men of brave-  
 ‘ ry and vigour shall be quite out of heart, I am  
 ‘ afraid I shall have my share in something else, ra-  
 ‘ ther than advantage, and such a share as will be  
 ‘ greater than I desire.’ Thus spoke *Chryfantas*.

AFTER



AFTER him, rose *Pberaulas*, a *Persian*, one of the common people ; a man intimately known to *Cyrus*, and much in his favour whilst they were yet in *Persia* ; one whose person was not uncomely ; and who with respect to his mind, was not like one of the mean and ignoble ; And he spoke to this effect. ‘ I, *Cyrus*, said he, and all the *Persians* here  
‘ present, reckon ourselves now entered in the lists  
‘ of virtue ; and setting forward in its career upon  
‘ an equal foot : for I see that our bodies are all ex-  
‘ ercised alike ; and nourished with like food ; that  
‘ like company and conversation is vouchsafed to  
‘ us all ; and that the same honourable actions lie  
‘ before us : for obedience to our commanders lies  
‘ before us in common, and whoever is found sin-  
‘ cerely to practise it, that man, I see, obtains re-  
‘ wards and honours at the hands of *Cyrus* : then to  
‘ act with bravery against the enemy is not a thing  
‘ that is becoming to one, and is otherwise to ano-  
‘ ther, but stands recommended as great and no-  
‘ ble to us all. And I take upon me to say, that  
‘ our method of fight is now plainly taught us. I  
‘ see that all men naturally know it ; as every other  
‘ animal naturally knows a certain method of fight,  
‘ and this without learning it from any other than  
‘ from nature ; as the bull attacks with his horn,  
‘ the horse with his hoof, the dog with his mouth,  
‘ the boar with his tooth ; and all of them know,’  
said he, ‘ by what means best to defend themselves  
‘ against the attack of others ; and these things pro-  
‘ ceed not from the instruction of any master in  
‘ these arts. I understood presently from a child,  
‘ how to interpose something between myself and  
‘ the person who offered to strike me ; and if I had  
‘ nothing else, I endeavoured as well as I was able,  
‘ by holding up my hands to hinder and oppose the  
‘ person that assaulted me ; and this I did not only  
‘ without



‘ without being taught it, but even though I were  
‘ beaten for defending myself. When I was a  
‘ child, wherever I saw a sword, I presently seized  
‘ it ; nor was I taught how to handle it by any one,  
‘ but, as I say, by nature : this therefore I did, not  
‘ only untaught, but even crossed and hindered in  
‘ it ; as there are many other things that I have been  
‘ necessarily prompted by nature to do, though con-  
‘ trouled and checked in them both by my father  
‘ and mother. Then, by *Jove* ! with this sword,  
‘ I hacked and hewed whatever came in my way,  
‘ when I could do it privately and unseen ; for it  
‘ was not only natural to me like walking and run-  
‘ ning, but besides its being natural, I thought it a  
‘ pleasure to do it. Since therefore,’ said he, ‘ that  
‘ fighting is the thing now left us to do, and that  
‘ it is a work that requires courage rather than art,  
‘ How can it be other than a pleasure to us to enter  
‘ the lists with these noble persons the alike-honour-  
‘ ed ? When the rewards of virtue lie equally be-  
‘ fore us, and we of the people do not run an equal  
‘ risque ? They have at stake a life of honour which  
‘ is the most agreeable, and the only one that can  
‘ be called a life ; we only a laborious and ignoble  
‘ one, which in my opinion is but painful and un-  
‘ happy. Then this, friends ! greatly animates me  
‘ to enter the lists against these men ; that *Cyrus* is  
‘ to be our judge ; He who judges not partially and  
‘ invidiously, but, I aver, and swear it by the gods,  
‘ that I think *Cyrus* loves those that he finds to be  
‘ deserving not less than he does himself : accord-  
‘ ingly I observe that he bestows what he has, upon  
‘ such men, with more pleasure, than he takes in  
‘ his own possession of it. Besides,’ said he, ‘ these  
‘ men are greatly elevated, with their having been  
‘ disciplined to bear hunger, thirst, and cold ; not  
‘ knowing that we have been disciplined in the same  
‘ things



‘ things under a much abler teacher than they have  
‘ been : for there is none a more effectual teacher  
‘ of these things than necessity, that has taught  
‘ them us in the completest manner. These men  
‘ have exercised themselves in the labour of bearing  
‘ arms that have been so contrived by all men as to  
‘ be worn with the greatest ease : but we,’ said he,  
‘ have been obliged by necessity to walk and run  
‘ under heavy burthens ; so that the arms we now  
‘ bear seem to me, not to be like burthens, but ra-  
‘ ther like wings. So count upon me,’ said he,  
‘ *Cyrus*, as one that will engage in this dispute, and  
‘ who desire, whatever degree I am in, to be re-  
‘ warded according to my desert. And I exhort  
‘ you, my friends of the people, to embark in this  
‘ military contention, against these men of disci-  
‘ pline ; for they are now drawn in and caught in  
‘ this popular dispute.’——So spoke *Pheraulas* ; and  
many others stood up to support them both in their  
opinion. It was thought fit therefore that every one  
should be rewarded according to his desert ; and that  
*Cyrus* should be the judge.

THUS did these things proceed ; and *Cyrus* took  
an occasion to invite an entire regiment together  
with their colonel to sup with him. This he did up-  
on having seen the man forming half the men of his  
regiment against the other half, in order to attack  
each other ; They had all of them their corselets  
on, and in their left hands their shields ; but to one  
half he had given good large sticks for their right  
hands ; and the others he had ordered to gather  
clods to throw. When they stood thus ready pre-  
pared, he gave them the signal to engage : Then  
these fell on with their clods ; some chanced to fall  
upon the corselets of the opposite party ; some upon  
their shields ; some hit a thigh, some a leg ; but  
when they came to close, they who had the sticks,  
applied



applied their blows upon the thighs, hands, and legs of their adversaries, as well as upon the necks and backs, of such as stooped for their clods : And at last they that were armed with the sticks put the others to the rout, laying them on, with much laughter and diversion. Then the others in their turn taking the sticks did the same thing to those, who took their turn in throwing the clods. *Cyrus* was much taken with these things ; both with the contrivance of the officer, the obedience of the men, that they were at the same time both exercised and diverted, and that those men gained the victory who were armed in the manner that resembled the *Persians*. Being pleased with these things, he invited them to supper ; and observing some of them with their shins bound up, and some with their hands in the same condition, he asked them what harm they had got, they said, ‘ They had been struck with the clods.’ He then asked them again, ‘ Whether it was when they were close together, or while they were at a distance ?’ They said, ‘ While they were at a distance ; but that when they closed, it was the finest sport imaginable for those that were armed with the sticks ; But then again, they that were wounded by the sticks, cried out, that they did not at all think it a diversion to be thrashed in that close way.’ They shew the blows they received from those that held the sticks both upon their hands and neck, and some in their faces : and then as was natural, they laughed at one another. — The next day the whole field was full of people imitating these men : And whenever they had nothing of more serious business to do, they made use of this diversion,

AND *Cyrus* observing another colonel, upon a certain occasion, leading his men from the river, one by one, to their dinner ; and when he thought it proper



proper ordering the second, third and fourth company to advance in front; and when the captains were all in front, ordering each company to double their files, upon which the commanders of tens advanced in front; and that then, when he thought it proper, he ordered each company to bring themselves to be four in front; thus the commanders of five advanced, that the company might march four in front; and that when they arrived at the door of the tent, commanding them to enter one by one, he introduced the first company, ordering the second to follow them in the rear, and the third and fourth in like manner, and so lead them all in; and that introducing them in this manner, he sat them all down to their meat in order as they entered: He, being much taken with this man for his good temper, instruction, and care, invited the whole regiment to sup with him, together with the colonel. —But another colonel, who had not been invited, being present at the time, spoke thus: ‘ But my  
‘ regiment, *Cyrus*,’ said he, ‘ you do not invite to  
‘ your tent; yet when they go to their dinner, they  
‘ perform all these things; and when the business  
‘ in the tent is over, the rear-leader of the last com-  
‘ pany leads out that company, with the last men  
‘ ranged first in order for battle; then the rear  
‘ leader of the next company follows after these;  
‘ so the third and fourth in the same manner; that  
‘ when it is proper to lead off from the enemy, they  
‘ may know how to retreat. And when we get in-  
‘ to the course, we there move about; when we  
‘ march to the east, I lead the way, and the first  
‘ company moves first, the second in its order, so  
‘ the third and fourth, and the tens and fives of the  
‘ several companies, in the proper course, as long as  
‘ I give orders accordingly: But,’ said he, ‘ when  
‘ we march to the west, the rear-leader and the last  
‘ men



‘ men lead the way, and yet obey me who march  
 ‘ last; that they *be* accustomed both to follow and to  
 ‘ lead with equal obedience.’ ‘ And do you always do  
 ‘ thus?’ said *Cyrus*. As often,’ said he, ‘ as we take  
 ‘ our meals.’ ‘ I will invite you therefore’ said he,  
 ‘ because you practise your exercise both in advan-  
 ‘ cing and retreating, by day and night, and both  
 ‘ exercise your bodies by the motion, and profit your  
 ‘ minds by the discipline. And since you do all  
 ‘ these things double, it is but just that I should  
 ‘ give you double good entertainment.’ ‘ By  
 ‘ *Jove!*’ said the colonel, not in one day, unless  
 ‘ you give us double stomachs too.’——Thus they  
 made an end of that conversation in the tent. And  
 the next day *Cyrus*, invited this regiment, as he  
 said he would, and did the same again the day fol-  
 lowing; The rest perceiving this all imitated those  
 men for the future.

BUT as *Cyrus*, upon a certain occasion, was ma-  
 king a general muster and review of his men un-  
 der arms, there came a messenger from *Cyaxares*,  
 acquainting him that an *Indian* embassy was arrived.  
 ‘ *Cyaxares*, said the messenger, desires, that you  
 ‘ would come as soon as possible; and from him  
 ‘ I bring you a beautiful robe: For he has a mind  
 ‘ that you should appear in the handsomest and  
 ‘ most splendid manner; the *Indians* being to see  
 ‘ the manner of your approach.’ *Cyrus*, hearing  
 this, gave command to the colonel who stood first  
 in order, to take place himself in front, bringing  
 his men into one line behind him, and to keep him-  
 self to the right. He commanded them to trans-  
 mit the same orders to the second, and so to deliver  
 them down through the whole. These men in  
 obedience to *Cyrus* presently delivered down the or-  
 ders, and put them in execution. In a very little  
 time they formed a front of three hundred; for  
 that was the number of the colonels; and they were  
 an



an hundred in depth. When they stood thus, he commanded them to follow as he should lead them ; And beginning presently to run, he led them the way. But when he perceived the avenue, that lead to the palace straiter, than to allow them all to move on in front ; he commanded the first thousand to follow in the situation and order they were in, and the next to follow in the rear of this, and so in like manner through the whole. He himself led on without stopping. The other thousands followed, each in the rear of those that went before. And he sent two servants to the opening of the avenue to give information of what was to be done in case any should be ignorant of it. When they came to *Cyaxares's* gates, he commanded the first colonel to form his regiment to twelve in depth, and to range the commanders of twelves in front around the palace ; he commanded him likewise to transmit these orders to the second, and so throughout the whole. They did accordingly.——He himself went into *Cyaxares* in a plain *Persian* robe undisguised with foreign ornaments. *Cyaxares* seeing him, was pleased with his dispatch ; but offended at the meanness of his robe ; and said, ‘ What have you done, *Cyrus* ! in appearing thus before the *Indians* ? I had a mind, said he, that you should appear in the most splendid manner ; And it had been an ornament to me, for you, who are my sister’s son, to have appeared the most magnificent that was possible.’ *Cyrus* to this said, ‘ Which way, *Cyaxares* ! had I been the greater ornament to you, whether, if cloathing myself in purple, putting on bracelets, and encompassing my neck with a collar, I had obeyed you in a loitering manner ; or now that with so great and so good a force, I obey you with such dispatch ; having in honour of you, adorned myself with sweat and diligence ? and adorning you, by

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‘ shewing the rest to be so obedient to your orders ?’  
*Cyrus*, thus spoke.

*CYAXARES*, judging that he said right, gave order to introduce the *Indians*. The *Indians*, being come in, said, ‘ That the king of the *Indians* had  
 ‘ sent them ; and had commanded them to ask,  
 ‘ what was the cause of the war between the *Medes*  
 ‘ and *Assyrians* ? And when we had heard you,  
 ‘ said they, he commanded us to go to the *Assyrian*  
 ‘ and ask him the same question ; and in the end to  
 ‘ tell you both, that the king of the *Indians* does  
 ‘ declare, that, after having informed himself of  
 ‘ the justice of the cause, he will take part with  
 ‘ the injured.’ *Cyaxares* to this said, ‘ You hear  
 ‘ me therefore declare, that we have done no in-  
 ‘ jury to the *Assyrians* ; Go then and enquire from  
 ‘ him what he says to it.’ *Cyrus* being present, ask-  
 ed *Cyaxares* this question ; ‘ And may I, said he,  
 ‘ say what I think proper upon this occasion ?’ *Cy-*  
*axares* bid him do so. ‘ Do you therefore, said  
 ‘ he, acquaint the king of the *Indians* thus, (unless  
 ‘ *Cyaxares* judge otherwise) That if the *Assyrian*  
 ‘ say, he has been any way injured by us, we de-  
 ‘ clare that we chuse the king of the *Indians* him-  
 ‘ self to be our judge.’——These men hearing  
 this went their way.

WHEN the *Indians* were gone, *Cyrus* began a  
 discourse with *Cyaxares* to this effect ; ‘ I came  
 ‘ from home, *Cyaxares*, without having abundance  
 ‘ of treasure of my own ; and whatever it was, I  
 ‘ have but very little of it left ; for I have spent it,  
 ‘ said he, upon the soldiers : This perhaps you will  
 ‘ wonder at, since it is you that maintained them.  
 ‘ But be it known to you, said he, that it has gone  
 ‘ in nothing else but in rewards, and gratifications  
 ‘ to the soldiers, whenever I have been pleased with  
 ‘ any of them. For in my opinion, said he, it is a  
 ‘ much pleasanter thing to encourage all those that  
 ‘ one



' one has a mind to make diligent and good fel-  
' low labourers with one in any business of whatever  
' kind it be, by speaking them fair, and doing them  
' good, than to do it by severe usage and by force.  
' But those that one would have to be zealous  
' fellow-labourers in the business of war, these  
' I think, ought absolutely to be courted to it  
' both by good words and good deeds: for  
' such as are to be hearty and sincere fellow-  
' combatants, who shall neither envy their com-  
' mander in prosperity, nor betray him in adver-  
' sity, ought to be friends and not enemies. Hav-  
' ing determined thus with myself in these matters,  
' I think myself in want of money. And yet, to  
' have my eye upon every occasion upon you, when  
' I see you are already engaged in very great expen-  
' ces, seems to me unreasonable. But I think it pro-  
' per that you and I should jointly consider what  
' means to use that treasure may not fail you. For  
' if you have plenty, I know that I may take it  
' whenever I want; especially if I take for such a  
' purpose, as will make it more to your advantage  
' that the treasure should be so spent. I remember  
' therefore upon some occasion lately to have heard  
' you say, that the *Armenian* is now grown to con-  
' temn you, because he hears that the enemy is  
' coming upon us; and besides, that he neither  
' sends you the forces, nor pays you the tribute  
' that is due.' 'Indeed, *Cyrus*, said he, these things  
' he really does; so that I am in doubt whether it  
' be better for me to make war upon him and  
' force him to comply, or whether it be most  
' for our interest to let it pass for the present, lest  
' we add him to the number of our enemies.' Cy-  
' rus then asked; 'Are their habitations in places  
' of strength, or in such as are accessible with ease?'  
' And *Cyaxares* said, 'Their habitations are in  
' places that are not very strong; for I was not  
H 2                      negligent



‘ negligent in that affair. But there are mountains  
‘ whither he may immediately retire and be in  
‘ safety ; so as neither to be himself exposed, nor  
‘ any thing else that may possibly be carried off  
‘ thither ; unless one sit down and besiege him  
‘ there, as my father once did.’ Upon this, *Cyrus*  
said thus ; ‘ But if you will send with me such a  
‘ number of horse as may be thought sufficient, I  
‘ believe, with the assistance of the gods ! I can  
‘ make him send you forces, and pay you tribute.  
‘ And besides, I even hope, that he will be yet  
‘ more our friend than he is now.’ *Cyaxares* then  
said ; ‘ And I have hopes that he will sooner come  
‘ to you, than he will to us. For I have heard,  
‘ that some of his children were your fellow-hunt-  
‘ men. So that perhaps, they may come to you  
‘ again. And if some of them once come to be in  
‘ our power, every thing will succeed to our desire.’  
‘ Is not your opinion then, said *Cyrus*, that it will  
‘ be for our advantage to conceal this contrivance  
‘ between us?’ ‘ By this means, said *Cyaxares*,  
‘ some or other of them may the more easily fall  
‘ in our hands : or if one fall upon them they may  
‘ be taken the more unprepared.’ ‘ Hear then,’ said  
*Cyrus*, ‘ if you think what I am going to say may  
‘ be of any moment ; I have often hunted upon the  
‘ borders of your territory, and that of the *Arme-*  
‘ *nians*, with all the *Persians* that were with me ;  
‘ and I went thither, taking likewise from hence  
‘ several horse-men from amongst my companions  
‘ here.’ ‘ Therefore, said *Cyaxares*, by doing just  
‘ the same things now, you must pass unsuspected ;  
‘ but if a much greater force should appear than  
‘ what you used to have with you in hunting, this  
‘ would presently give suspicion.’ ‘ But, said *Cyrus*,  
‘ one may frame a very plausible pretence in this  
‘ case ; and that is, if care be taken that somebody  
‘ give them an account yonder in *Armenia*, that I  
‘ intend



‘ intend to undertake a great hunt : then, said he,  
‘ I would openly desire from you a body of horse.’  
‘ You say very well, said *Cyaxares*, but I shall con-  
‘ sent to give you but a few, as intending to march  
‘ myself to our garrisons that lie towards *Assyria*.  
‘ And in reality, said he, I do intend to go thither, in  
‘ order to strengthen them as much as possible. But  
‘ when you are got before with the force you have,  
‘ and have hunted for a day or two following, I  
‘ may send you a sufficient force both of horse and  
‘ foot, out of those that have rendezvoused under  
‘ me. With these you may immediately fall on,  
‘ and I, with the other forces may endeavour to  
‘ keep not far from you, that if there be occasion I  
‘ may likewise appear.’

ACCORDINGLY, *Cyaxares* presently formed a body of horse at the garrisons, and sent waggons with provisions before by the road that lead that way. *Cyrus* presently made a sacrifice for his intended march ; and at the same time sent and begged of *Cyaxares* some of his cavalry, and such as were of the younger sort. He, though there were multitudes that would have attended *Cyrus*, granted him not very many. *Cyaxares* being now gone before, with forces, both horse and foot, upon the road towards the garrisons ; it happened, that *Cyrus*’s sacrifice upon his design against the *Armenian* succeeded happily ; so he set forward as prepared for a hunt. As he was marching, a hare started immediately in the first field ; and an eagle of happy omen flying towards them, caught sight of the hare as it ran ; and bearing down upon it, struck it ; then snatching it up raised it aloft, and bearing it away to an eminence not far off, did there what it thought fit with its prey. *Cyrus* therefore seeing this signal, paid his adoration to *Jove* sovereign of the gods, and said to those that were present, ‘ Friends ! our hunt,  
‘ if it please God, will be a noble one !’



WHEN they came to the borders, he hunted after his usual manner. The greater number of his horse and foot opened themselves in front, in order to rouse the beasts as they moved down upon them. The best of his men, both horse and foot stood here and there dispersed, received the beasts as they were roused, and pursued them ; and they took abundance both of swine, stags, goats, and wild asses ; for there are yet abundance of wild asses in those parts at this day. When they had finished the hunt, and he had brought them close up to the *Armenian* borders, he ordered them to supper ; and the next day hunted again, advancing to those mountains that he had desired to be master of. And when he had again ended his sport, he took his supper. But as soon as he found that the forces from *Cyaxares* were advancing, he sent privately to them, and ordered them to take their supper at about the distance of two parasangs from him, foreseeing that this would contribute to the concealing the affair. When they had supped, he ordered their commander to march and join him. After supper was over, he summoned the colonels to him ; and when they were come, he spoke to them thus.

‘ FRIENDS ! the *Armenian* has been heretofore  
 ‘ both an ally and subject of *Cyaxares* : but now that  
 ‘ he finds the enemy coming upon him, he con-  
 ‘ temns him ; and neither sends him forces nor pays  
 ‘ him tribute. It is he therefore that we must now  
 ‘ hunt, and catch if we can. Thus therefore,’ said  
 he, ‘ in my opinion, we must now do. Do you  
 ‘ *Chryfantas* ! when you have had a little time to  
 ‘ sleep, take half the *Persians* that are with us,  
 ‘ march by the hill, and make yourself master of  
 ‘ those mountains whither they say, the *Armenian*  
 ‘ flies when he finds himself in danger ; and I will  
 ‘ give you guides. They say these mountains are  
 ‘ full of woods ; so that there are hopes you will not  
 ‘ be



‘ be discovered. However, if you send before the  
‘ rest of your army, some light men equipped for  
‘ expedition, who both by their number and habit,  
‘ may look like plunderers ; these men, if they meet  
‘ with any of the *Armenians*, will prevent those that  
‘ they can take, from giving an account of things ;  
‘ and by driving away those they cannot take, will  
‘ hinder them from seeing the whole army ; and  
‘ will make them provide for themselves only as  
‘ against a band of thieves. Do you,’ said he,  
‘ do thus. I, at break of day, with half  
‘ the foot and all the horse, will march direct-  
‘ ly to the palace of the *Armenian*, by the plain.  
‘ If he make head against us, it is plain we must  
‘ fight. If he retire and quit the plain, it is evident  
‘ we must hasten after in pursuit of him. If he fly  
‘ to the mountains, then,’ said he, ‘ it is your bu-  
‘ siness not to allow any of those that come to escape  
‘ you ; but reckon as in hunting, that we are to be  
‘ the finders, and that you stand at the nets. Re-  
‘ member therefore this ; that the passages must be  
‘ first stopped before the beast is roused : and that  
‘ they who are appointed to that station ought to  
‘ keep concealed, if they have not a mind to turn  
‘ off every thing that takes its course towards them,  
‘ And do not act now,’ said he, ‘ *Chryfantas* ! as  
‘ the love of hunting has sometimes made you do.  
‘ For you have often been employed the whole  
‘ night, and have not slept at all. But you should  
‘ now allow your men to lie down a while, that  
‘ they may get a little sleep. And because you  
‘ used to wander through the mountains, without  
‘ taking men for your guides, but pursued where-  
‘ ever the beasts lead the way ; do not march there-  
‘ fore, now, through such difficult places ; but bid  
‘ your guides lead you the easiest way ; unless  
‘ there be one that is abundantly the shorter ; for  
‘ to an army the easiest way is the quickest. And  
‘ because you used to pass the mountains running,

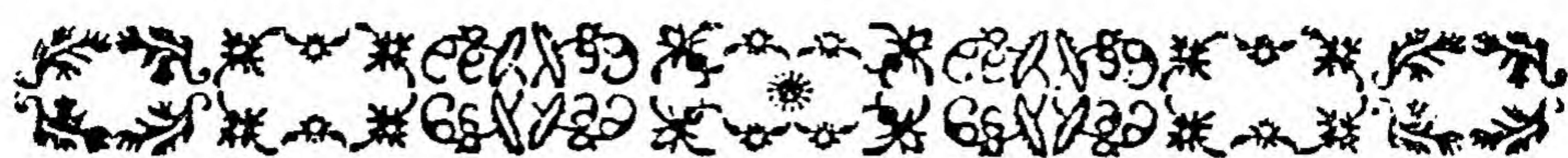


‘ do not therefore now lead on at full speed, but  
‘ with middling dispatch, in such sort, that the ar-  
‘ my may follow you. And it is of great use that  
‘ some of the most vigorous and hearty should halt  
‘ sometimes, and encourage the rest; and when  
‘ the whole wing is passed, it animates the others  
‘ to dispatch, to see these running besides them, and  
‘ passing them by as they themselves move on in  
‘ their gentle pace.

*CHRYSANTAS*, hearing this, and being transported with the orders, *Cyrus* had given him; took his guides and went his way. And having given the proper directions to those that were to attend in his march, he went to rest. When they had had a moderate time for rest, he marched to the mountains.

*CYRUS*, as soon as it was day, dispatched a messenger to the *Armenian*; and bid him say thus,  
‘ Prince of *Armenia*! *Cyrus* sends you these directi-  
‘ ons, that you would come away as soon as possi-  
‘ ble, and bring with you your tribute and your  
‘ forces; If he asks you where I am? tell him the  
‘ truth, that I am upon the borders. If he ask  
‘ whether I am advancing towards him? tell him  
‘ truth here too, that you do not know. If he en-  
‘ quire how many we are in number? bid him send  
‘ some body back with you to learn.’ Having given the messenger these orders, he dispatched him away; thinking it more friendly to do thus, than to march without sending word. And having formed his men into the best order, both for dispatch in marching, and for engagement in case of need, he began the march; first commanding his men to injure no one; and if any of them met with an *Armenian*, to bid him be of good heart; and to order every one that had a mind to sell either meat or drink, to come and make his market wherever they were.





# CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE  
INSTITUTION  
OF  
CYRUS.

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By XENOPHON.

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BOOK III.

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YRUS was taken up in these affairs : but the *Armenian*, as soon as he heard from the messenger, what *Cyrus* sent to tell him, was struck with it, considering that he had acted unjustly both in failing to pay his tribute, and in not sending his forces. And the thing he principally feared was lest he should be discovered to have begun fortifying the place of his residence in such sort as to render it defensible. Being at a loss upon all these accounts, he sent round to assemble his forces. At the same time he sent his younger son *Sabaris*, his own wife, his son's wife, and his  
own



own daughters away to the mountains, and sent with them all his most valuable apparel and furniture, appointing them a force to conduct them. And at the same time he sent out scouts to discover what *Cyrus* was doing, and mustered all the *Armenians* he had at present with him. When immediately there arrived others who told him that *Cyrus* was just behind them. And not having courage enough upon this occasion to come to action, he retired.

THE *Armenians* when they saw him act in this manner, ran every one to their own affairs, with intent to put all their effects out of the way. *Cyrus* when he saw the whole country full of people running up and down, and driving all off, sent them word that he would be an enemy to none that remained at home ; but if he caught any one making his escape, he declared he would treat him as an enemy. So the major part remained ; some there were who went off with the king.

BUT when they who conducted the women fell in among those who were in the mountains, they presently set up a cry, and betaking themselves to flight, many of them were taken, and at last, the son of the *Armenian*, the two wives and the daughters, were likewise taken ; as well as all the rich effects that were carrying off with them. As soon as the king perceived what had passed, being at a loss which way to turn himself, he fled to a certain eminence. *Cyrus* seeing this, surrounded the eminence with the army that he had with him, and sending to *Chrysantas*, ordered him to leave a guard upon the mountains and to come away. The army then joined under *Cyrus*. And he sending a herald to the *Armenian*, put the question to him in this manner. ‘ Tell me,’ said he, ‘ *Armenian !* whether it is your choice, staying there to combat and struggle  
‘ gle



‘gle with thirst and hunger? or to come down upon fair ground and fight us?’ The *Armenian* answered, ‘That he did not choose to engage in either of these ways.’ *Cyrus* sending again to him, asked him this question. ‘Why then sit you there and do not come down?’ ‘I am at a loss, said he, what I ought to do.’ ‘But you ought not to be at a loss about it,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘for you are at liberty to come down and have your cause tried. And who,’ said he, ‘shall be the judge?’ ‘He without doubt, to whom God has given power to deal with you, as he pleases, without a trial.’ Here the *Armenian*, seeing the necessity, came down: and *Cyrus*, taking him and all that belonged to him into the midst of them, encamped around, having his whole force with him.

JUST at this time, *Tygranes*, the eldest son of the *Armenian*, returned from a journey he had taken abroad; he who had been heretofore a fellow-huntsman with *Cyrus*. When he heard what happened, he went directly to *Cyrus* just as he was, and when he saw his father, and mother, his brother, his sisters, and his wife prisoners, he wept, as was natural for him to do. *Cyrus* upon seeing him, gave him no other mark of respect or friendship, but said to him, ‘You are come very opportunely that you may be present and hear the trial and determination of your father’s cause!’ He then presently summoned all the commanders of the *Persians* and *Medes*, and invited all such of the *Armenians* there, as were men of note and quality; and the women, who were there present in their chariots, he sent not away, but allowed them to hear.

WHEN all was ready and in order, he began the discourse. ‘*Armenian!*’ said he, ‘first of all I advise you, in this trial of your cause to speak the truth, that you may be free from one crime at least,



‘ least, which is a most hateful one. For be assured,  
 ‘ that to be found false, is the greatest bar that can lie  
 ‘ in men’s way to the obtaining of pardon. Then,’  
 said he, ‘ these children and wives of yours, and  
 ‘ all the *Armenians* present, are apprized of all that  
 ‘ you have done ; and if they perceive that you say  
 ‘ things contrary to what has passed, they will think,  
 ‘ if I discover the truth, that you condemn yourself  
 ‘ to the extremity of punishment.’ ‘ Ask me,’ said  
 he, ‘ *Cyrus!* what you will, as being resolved to tell  
 ‘ you truth, happen what will in consequence of it.’  
 ‘ Tell me then,’ said he, ‘ did you some time ago  
 ‘ make war with *Astyages* my mother’s father, and  
 ‘ with the rest of the *Medes* ?’ ‘ I did,’ said he ;  
 ‘ And when you were conquered by him, did you  
 ‘ agree, that you would pay him tribute ? that you  
 ‘ would join your forces to his wherever he should  
 ‘ direct ? and that you would have no fortifications ?’  
 ‘ These things were as you say.’ ‘ Now therefore,  
 ‘ why have you neither brought your tribute, nor  
 ‘ sent your forces, but were building your fortifica-  
 ‘ tions ?’ He replied, ‘ I was desirous of liberty ;  
 ‘ for I thought it a noble thing both to be free my-  
 ‘ self, and to leave liberty to my children.’ ‘ ’Tis  
 ‘ indeed noble,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ to fight in order not  
 ‘ to be made a slave : but if a man be conquered in  
 ‘ war, or by any other means be reduced to servi-  
 ‘ tude, and be found attempting to throw off his  
 ‘ masters, do you yourself first pronounce whether  
 ‘ you reward and honour such a one as an honest  
 ‘ man, and as one that does noble things ? Or, if  
 ‘ you take him, do you punish him as one that acts  
 ‘ unjustly ?’ ‘ I punish him,’ said he, ‘ you do not  
 ‘ suffer me to falsify. ‘ Tell me therefore plainly,’  
 said *Cyrus*, ‘ and in particular thus ; If a man be a  
 ‘ governor and transgress, do you suffer him to con-  
 ‘ tinue in his government, or do you constitute  
 ‘ another



‘ another in his stead ?’ ‘ I constitute another,’ said he. ‘ If he is master of great riches, do you suffer him to continue rich, or do you reduce him to poverty ?’ ‘ I take from him,’ said he, ‘ all that he has.’ ‘ If you find him revolting to the enemy, what do you do ?’ ‘ I put him to death,’ said he ; ‘ for why should I die convicted of falshood, rather than die telling the truth ?’

HERE, his son, as soon as he heard these things, threw off his turbant and rent his cloaths ! The women set up a lamentable cry, and tore themselves as if their father were expired, and themselves lost and undone !—*Cyrus* bid them be silent, and again spoke. ‘ Be it so, *Armenian* ! that these determinations of yours are just, what do you advise us to do upon it ?’ The *Armenian* was silent, being at a loss whether he should advise *Cyrus* to put him to death, or direct him to act just contrary to what he had said he would do himself.

HIS son *Tygranes* then asked *Cyrus* ; ‘ Tell me,’ said he, ‘ *Cyrus* ! since my father seems to be at a loss, whether shall I advise you what I think best for you to do in this case ?’ And *Cyrus*, well remembering that when *Tygranes* used to hunt with him, there was a certain sage very conversant with him, and much admired by him, was very desirous to hear what he would say, and joyfully bid him speak his opinion. Then said *Tygranes*, ‘ if you approve all the measures that my father has concerted, and all that he has done, I advise you by all means to imitate him. But if you are of opinion that he has transgressed in all, my advice is that you should not imitate him.’ ‘ Then,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ by doing justice I shall be the farthest from an imitation of the person transgressing.’ ‘ It is so,’ said he. ‘ According to your own reasoning then, your father should be punished, if it be



‘ be just to punish one who acts unjustly.’ But  
 ‘ whether do you think it best, *Cyrus*! to inflict  
 ‘ your punishments for your own advantage, or to  
 ‘ your own prejudice?’ ‘ Why this way, said he, I  
 ‘ should punish myself.’ ‘ And truly you would  
 ‘ be highly punished, said *Tygranes*, if you put to  
 ‘ death those that belonged to you, at the time that  
 ‘ they would be of the greatest service to you to  
 ‘ preserve.’ ‘ But how, said *Cyrus*, can men be so  
 ‘ highly serviceable and useful, when found to have  
 ‘ acted unjustly?’ ‘ Why truly, if they become  
 ‘ considerate and humble. For in my judgment,  
 ‘ *Cyrus*! things stand thus.——There is no vir-  
 ‘ tue useful and profitable, without a discreet and  
 ‘ sober sense of things. For, said, he what use can  
 ‘ be made of a man, who has strength and brave-  
 ‘ ry without discretion and modesty? What use of  
 ‘ one skilled in horsemanship; or of one abound-  
 ‘ ing in riches, or powerful in his country? But  
 ‘ with discretion and modesty every friend is useful,  
 ‘ and every servant good.’——This, therefore,  
 ‘ said he you assert; that your father from insolent  
 ‘ and haughty, is become discreet and humble, in  
 ‘ <sup>the</sup> one day’s time?’ ‘ I do,’ said he. Then this  
 ‘ discreet and modest state of mind, you pro-  
 ‘ nounce to be a passion of the soul, as grief is;  
 ‘ and not a matter of knowledge and science! For  
 ‘ if it be necessary, that he who becomes discreet  
 ‘ and modest, should be wise and knowing, he  
 ‘ cannot then, from insolent and haughty, become  
 ‘ in an instant, discreet and modest.’ ‘ But, *Cy-  
 ‘ rus*, said he, did you never observe a man, of  
 ‘ pride and insolence, attempt fighting with another  
 ‘ more powerful than himself, and when conquer-  
 ‘ ed, presently fall from that insolence? Again,  
 ‘ said he, have you never seen one city engaged in  
 ‘ war with another, and when conquered, im-  
 ‘ mediately by this means, become willing to  
 ‘ obey,



‘obey, instead of continuing the war?’ ‘And  
‘what conquest over your father, said *Cyrus*, is  
‘this you speak of, and that thus forcibly brings  
‘him to a discreet and humble sense of things?’  
‘Why truly, the being conscious to himself, that  
‘while he has affected liberty, he has become yet  
‘more a slave than ever; and that of all the  
‘things he thought to have effected, by privacy, by  
‘artifice, or by force, he has not been able to ef-  
‘fect one: but has seen you deceive him, in eve-  
‘ry thing you intended to deceive him in, as  
‘effectually as one might deceive the blind, or the  
‘deaf, or men of no understanding at all; he  
‘knows you have kept yourself so concealed from  
‘him, where you thought it proper so to do, that  
‘the places he thought the most secure to him, there  
‘by concealed preparations you have made yourself  
‘master of; and you have so far exceeded him in  
‘dispatch, that you are come upon him with a very  
‘considerable army, from afar, before he had as-  
‘sembled his forces, that were just at hand.’ Are  
‘you of opinion then,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘that such a con-  
‘quest is sufficient to give men so much considerati-  
‘on and modesty, as to think others better than  
‘themselves?’ Much more,’ said *Tygranes*, ‘than  
‘if a man were conquered in fight; for he who is  
‘subdued by force, may think that by exercising  
‘his body he may be enabled to renew the combat;  
‘and cities that have been taken, imagine that by  
‘gaining allies they may renew the war. But men  
‘often voluntarily submit to those whom they judge  
‘better than themselves, though under no necessity  
‘of doing it.’ ‘You seem,’ said he, ‘not to be of  
‘opinion, that the proud and insolent, can have any  
‘sense that there are any more modest and consider-  
‘ate than themselves; or thieves that there any  
‘observers of truth; or unjust men that there any  
‘who act with justice. Do not you know,’ said he,  
‘that



‘ that your father has at this time dealt falsely, and  
 ‘ not stood to his agreements with us, tho’ he knew  
 ‘ very well that we had not transgressed in any sort  
 ‘ what *Astyages* had stipulated?’ ‘ Nor do I say,  
 ‘ that the knowledge alone, of others being better  
 ‘ than ourselves, makes men considerate and mo-  
 ‘ dest, unless they receive punishment at the hands  
 ‘ of those their betters as my father now has done.’  
 ‘ —But your father,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ has yet suf-  
 ‘ fered no sort of ill: I know very well that he is  
 ‘ afraid indeed of the highest punishments.’ Do  
 ‘ you think therefore,’ said *Tygranes*, ‘ that any thing  
 ‘ oppresses me more than violent fear? Do not  
 ‘ you know that they who are oppressed by the  
 ‘ sword, which is reckoned the severest correcti-  
 ‘ on, will recur again to arms against the same ene-  
 ‘ my; but those that they are thoroughly afraid of,  
 ‘ they are not able so much as to look at, when they  
 ‘ do confer with them?’ ‘ Do you say,’ said he,  
 ‘ that fear is a heavier punishment upon men  
 ‘ than real misfortune?’ ‘ You know yourself,’  
 said he, ‘ that what I say is true; You know,  
 ‘ that they who are in fear of being banished their  
 ‘ country, or that are in dread of being beaten, in  
 ‘ an engagement approaching, are in a most deject-  
 ‘ ed condition. They that are at sea, and that dread  
 ‘ shipwreck, and they that fear servitude and chains,  
 ‘ are neither able to eat or sleep for their fear; but  
 ‘ they who are already under banishment, who are  
 ‘ already conquered and already slaves, are often  
 ‘ in a condition to eat and sleep better than the for-  
 ‘ tunate themselves. And how great a burthen fear  
 ‘ is, is yet more evident by this, that some in dread  
 ‘ that death would follow their captivity, have died  
 ‘ before-hand by means of that dread, some throw-  
 ‘ ing themselves headlong, some hanging themselves,  
 ‘ and some dying by the sword. So that of all  
 ‘ things terrible, fear strikes deepest into the minds  
 ‘ of



‘ of men. In what state of mind then,’ said he,  
‘ do you take my father to be ? He who fears not  
‘ only for his own liberty, but for mine, for that of  
‘ his wife, and that of all his children ?’——Then  
*Cyrus* said, ‘ It does not seem at all improbable to  
‘ me that your father is at this time affected in this  
‘ manner ; but it belongs to the same man to be in-  
‘ solent and injurious in prosperity, and when bro-  
‘ ken in his fortune to be dejected and sunk, and  
‘ when re-established in his affairs, to become inso-  
‘ lent again, and again to create disturbance.’  
‘ Truly, *Cyrus*,’ said he, ‘ our transgressions give you  
‘ cause to distrust us. But you are at liberty to  
‘ build fortresses, to keep possession of our places of  
‘ strength, and to take whatever other pledge you  
‘ please ; and yet,’ said he, ‘ you will not find us  
‘ very uneasy under these sufferings ; for we shall  
‘ remember that we ourselves were the cause of  
‘ them. But if by giving up our government to  
‘ any of those, who are free from guilt, you appear  
‘ distrustful of us, look to it, lest at the same time  
‘ that you shall be a benefactor to them, they shall  
‘ think you no friend. And if in caution against  
‘ their enmity, you do not impose a yoke upon  
‘ them to prevent their injuries, look to it, that you  
‘ come not under a greater necessity of reducing  
‘ them to be considerate and humble, than you are  
‘ now under of acting that part towards us.’ ‘ By  
‘ the gods !’ said he, ‘ it is methinks with displea-  
‘ sure, that I make use of such servants as I know  
‘ serve me by necessity and force ; but those that I  
‘ judge to act their parts in concert with me, out  
‘ of friendship and good will, these, I think, I can  
‘ more easily bear with when they transgress, than  
‘ with those that hate me, and who by force dis-  
‘ charge their duty the most completely.’ *Tygranes*  
to this said, ‘ And with whom can you acquire so  
‘ great a friendship, as you may with us ?’ ‘ With  
Vol. I. I , ‘ those



‘ those, as I take it, who have never been so much  
 ‘ at enmity with us, provided I should be that friend  
 ‘ and benefactor to them, that you now desire me  
 ‘ to be to you.’—‘ And can you possibly find *Cyrus*,’  
 said he, ‘ at this time, any one whom it is in your  
 ‘ power to gratify in so high a degree as you may  
 ‘ my father? First,’ said he, ‘ if you grant their  
 ‘ lives to those who never did you any injury, what  
 ‘ thanks will they pay you for it think you? If you  
 ‘ leave a man his wife and children, who can have  
 ‘ greater friendship for you upon this score, than  
 ‘ he who thinks they may be justly taken from him?  
 ‘ Do you know any one that will be more afflicted  
 ‘ than ourselves, if the kingdom of *Armenia* be not  
 ‘ given them?—And it is evident that he who is  
 ‘ most afflicted that he is not king, when he receives  
 ‘ the regal power, will be the most grateful to you  
 ‘ for it. And in case,’ said he, ‘ you are any ways  
 ‘ concerned that things should be left here in the  
 ‘ least confusion and disorder, when you quit us,  
 ‘ consider whether things are likely to be upon a  
 ‘ quieter foot under a new government, than if the  
 ‘ old-accustomed government continue. If it be of  
 ‘ any concern to you, to draw from hence the  
 ‘ greatest number of forces possible, who do you  
 ‘ think will levy them better, than he who has of-  
 ‘ ten made use of them? And if you want money,  
 ‘ who do you reckon, will better raise it than he  
 ‘ who knows all, and is in possession of all? Good  
 ‘ *Cyrus!*’ said he, ‘ be careful, lest by rejecting  
 ‘ us, you do yourself more mischief, than my fa-  
 ‘ ther has been able to do you.’ To this effect he  
 spoke.

AND *Cyrus* was extremely pleased to hear him,  
 thinking that he should be able to effect all that he  
 had promised *Cyaxares* to do; for he remembered to  
 have told him, that he thought he should make the  
*Armenian*



*Armenian* yet more his friend than before. Upon this then he enquired thus of the *Armenian* : ‘ And if I comply with you in these things, tell me,’ said he, ‘ what force will you send with me ? and what money will you contribute to the war ?’ To this the *Armenian* said ; ‘ *Cyrus*,’ said he, ‘ I have no reply to make more plain or more just, than to expose to you all the forces I have, that viewing the whole, you may take with you whatever you will, and leave what you will for the guard of the country. In like manner with respect to our riches, it is but just that I should discover to you all that I have, that being apprized of all, you may carry off what you will of it, and leave what you please of it.’ Then *Cyrus* said ; ‘ Proceed then, and shew me what forces you have, and tell me what your riches amount to.’ Here the *Armenian* replied ; ‘ The horse of the *Armenians* are eight thousand ; and their foot forty thousand. Our riches, including the treasure my father left, and reckoned in money, amount to more than three thousand talents.’ Then *Cyrus* without hesitation said ; ‘ Since therefore,’ said he, ‘ the *Chaldeans* that border upon you are at war with you, send with me half of your forces ; and of your treasure, instead of fifty talents, which was the tribute you were to pay, give *Cyaxares* double that sum, for your defect in the payment. Then lend me,’ said he, ‘ a hundred more ; and I promise you, that, if the gods enable me, I will, in return of what you lend me, either do you such services as shall be of greater value, or, if I am not able, will count you down the money again ; if I am not able to do it, I may then appear unable ; but unjust I cannot be justly accounted.’ Then the *Armenian* said ; ‘ I conjure you by the gods ! *Cyrus*, not to talk in that manner ; if you do, you will afflict  
I 2 me ;



me; but rather reckon,' said he, 'that what you leave behind is not less yours, than what you carry off with you.' 'Be it so,' said *Cyrus*,-----'But to have your wife again, what money will you give me?' 'All that I am able,' said he. 'What for your children?' 'And for these too,' said he, 'all that I am able.' 'Here is then,' said *Cyrus*, 'already as much again as you have.----And you *Tygranes*,' said he, 'at what rate would you purchase the regaining of your wife?' Now he happened to be but lately married, and had a very great love for his wife. 'Cyrus,' said he, 'to save her from servitude, I would ransom her at the expence of my life.' 'Take then your own to yourself,' said he. 'I cannot reckon that she is properly our captive; for you never fled from us. And do you, *Armenian*, take your wife and children, without paying any thing for them, that they may know they come free to you.---And now,' said he, 'pray take a supper with us; and when that is over, go your ways wherever you please.' So they staid.

WHILE they were together in the tent, *Cyrus* enquired thus; 'Tell me,' said he, '*Tygranes*, where is that man that used to hunt with us, and that you seemed much to admire?' 'Oh!' said he, 'and has not this father of mine put him to death?' 'And what crime did he discover him committing?' 'He said that he corrupted me: and yet, *Cyrus*, so good and so excellent a man he was! that when he was going to die, he sent for me, and told me,-----*Tygranes*, said he, *do not you bear ill will to your father for putting me to death; for he does it not out of malice, but out of ignorance. And whatever errors men fall into by ignorance, I reckon all such involuntary.*'---*Cyrus* upon this said, 'Alas! good man!'-----The *Armenian* then spoke thus, 'They, *Cyrus*, who find strangers engaged in familiar commerce with their wives, do not put them

to



‘ to death, and charge them as endeavouring to  
‘ make their wives more discreet and modest ; but  
‘ they are of opinion, that these men destroy that  
‘ affection and love their wives have for them, and  
‘ for this reason they treat them as enemies. And  
‘ I,’ said he, ‘ bore hatred and ill will to this man,  
‘ because I thought he made my son respect and ad-  
‘ mire him more than ; myself.’ Cyrus then said ;  
‘ By the gods !’ said he, ‘ *Armenian*, I think you  
‘ faulty, but in such a manner as human nature is  
‘ often liable to be. And do you, *Tygranes*, forgive  
‘ your father.’---Having at that time discoursed in  
this manner, and having treated each other with  
great kindness and friendship, as is natural upon a  
reconciliation, they mounted their chariots in com-  
pany with the women, and drove away well pleased.

WHEN they came home, one talked of *Cyrus*’s  
wisdom, another of his patience and resolution, ano-  
ther of his mildness : one spoke of his beauty, and  
the tallness of his person ; and upon that *Tygranes*  
asked his wife ; ‘ And do you,’ said he, ‘ *Arme-  
‘ nian* dame, think *Cyrus* handsome ?’ ‘ Truly,’  
said she, ‘ I did not look at him :’ ‘ At whom  
‘ then did you look ?’ said *Tygranes*, ‘ At him who  
‘ said, that *to save me from servitude he would ransom  
‘ me at the expence of his own life.*’ And after some  
entertainment of this kind, as was usual, they went  
together to rest.

THE next day the *Armenian* sent presents of  
friendship to *Cyrus*, and to the whole army ; he sent  
orders to those of his people that were to serve in  
this expedition, to attend on the third day ; and he  
paid double the sum of money that *Cyrus* had men-  
tioned. *Cyrus*, accepting the sum he had expressed,  
sent the rest back, and asked, ‘ Which of them  
‘ would command the army ? whether his son or  
‘ himself ?’ They both spoke together, and the fa-  
ther said, ‘ Either of us that you shall order.’



The son said, ‘ I assure you, *Cyrus*, that I will not leave you, though I serve in the army as a porter :’ *Cyrus*, laughing at this, said, ‘ What would one give,’ said he, ‘ that your wife heard you were to carry baggage?’ ‘ There’s no need,’ said he, ‘ that she should hear, for I will carry her with me, and by that means she may see what I do.’ ‘ But it is full time,’ said he, ‘ that you had all things ready to attend us.’ ‘ Count upon it,’ said he, ‘ that we will be present at the time with all things ready that my father affords us.’ When the soldiers had been all thus entertained and treated as friends, they went to rest.

THE next day *Cyrus*, taking *Tygranes* with him, and the best of the *Median* horse, together with as many of his own friends as he thought proper, marched round viewing the country ; and examining where to build a fortress. When they came to a certain eminence, he asked *Tygranes*, ‘ Which were the mountains from whence the *Chaldæans* made their incursions to plunder the country?’ *Tygranes* shewed them to him. He then enquired again, ‘ And are these mountains entirely desert?’ ‘ No truly,’ said he, ‘ but they have always certain scouts there, who give notice to the rest, of whatever they observe.’ ‘ And what do they do,’ said he, when they have this notice?’ ‘ They all then run to the eminencies to defend themselves, every one as fast as he can.’ *Cyrus* gave attention to these things ; and viewing around, he observed a great part of the *Armenian* territory to be desert and uncultivated by reason of the war. They then retired to the camp, and taking their supper, went to rest.

THE next day *Tygranes*, with all things ready provided, joined him ; having four thousand horse, ten thousand archers, and as many targeteers with him.



him. *Cyrus*, at the time they joined him, made a sacrifice. When the victims appeared to portend things fortunate and happy, he summoned the leaders of the *Persians* and *Medes*; and when they were together, he spoke to them to this effect. ‘ Friends, those mountains that we see, belong to the *Chaldæans*; If we can seize them, and have a fortress upon the summit, both *Armenians* and *Chaldæans* will be obliged to act with modesty and submission towards us. Our sacrifice promises us success; and in the execution of a design, nothing favours the inclinations of men so much as dispatch; if we prevent the enemy, and gain the mountains before they assemble, we may either take the summit entirely without a blow, or shall have but a few and weak enemies to deal with. Of all labours, therefore, there’s none more easy nor more free from danger, than resolutely to bear the fatigue of dispatch. Haste then to arms! and do you, *Medes*, march upon our left; and of you, *Armenians*, let half march upon our right, and the other half lead on in front before us; and do you, the horse, follow in the rear, exhorting us and pushing us before you; and if any one acts remissly, do not suffer him to do so.’

*CYRUS*, having said this, led on; drawing the several companies into single files. The *Chaldæans*, as soon as they perceived that their heights were going to be attacked, gave their signal to their people, hollowed out to each other, and ran together. *Cyrus* then gave out orders in this manner; ‘ Men of *Persia*, they give us the signal of dispatch; if we prevent them in gaining the heights, the efforts of the enemy will be of no significance.’ The *Chaldæans* had every one their shield, and two javelins; they are said to be the most warlike people of all in that part of the world; where they are wanted, they serve for hire; being a warlike people and poor;



poor; for their country is mountainous, and but little of it fertile and rich. As *Cyrus's* men approached the heights, *Tygranes* marching with *Cyrus*, spoke to him thus. ‘*Cyrus*,’ said he, ‘do you know that we must presently come to action, and that the *Armenians* will not stand the attack of the enemy?’ *Cyrus*, telling him that he knew it, made it presently be declared to the *Persians*, that they should hold themselves in readiness, as being immediately to fall on; and to pursue as soon as the flying *Armenians* drew the enemy down so as to be near them. So the *Armenians* led on. The *Chaldæans* who were upon the place, immediately upon the approach of the *Armenians*, set up a cry, and according to their custom ran upon them; the *Armenians* according to their custom did not stand them. When the pursuing *Chaldæans* saw swordsmen fronting them and marching up, they some of them came up close, and were presently killed, some fled, and some were taken, and the heights were immediately gained. As soon as *Cyrus's* men had gained the heights, they saw the habitations of the *Chaldæans*, and perceived them flying from such of those habitations as were near. *Cyrus*, as soon as the army was got together, ordered them to dinner. When dinner was over, having got information of the places where the *Chaldeans* planted their watch, he undertook the building of a fortress that was very strong, and well supplied with water. He ordered *Tygranes* to send to his father, and bid him come away with all the carpenters and builders he could get; the messenger went his way to the *Armenian*; *Cyrus* applied himself to the building with all the workmen he had at that time with him.

MEANWHILE they brought *Cyrus* the prisoners, some bound and some wounded. As soon as he saw, them he ordered those that were bound to be loosed; and



and sending for the physicians, he ordered them to take care of the wounded. He then told the *Chaldeans* that he was not come either with a desire to destroy them, or with inclination to make war upon them ; but with intention to make peace between the *Armenians* and *Chaldeans*. ‘ Before we  
‘ got possession of your mountains, I know you  
‘ had no desire of peace : your own concerns were  
‘ in safety ; the effects of the *Armenians* you plundered at your pleasure. But now you see the  
‘ condition you are in. Those of you therefore  
‘ that have been taken, I dismiss to your homes,  
‘ and allow you, together with the rest of the  
‘ *Chaldeans*, to consult among yourselves, whether  
‘ you incline to make war with us, or to be our  
‘ friends : if war be your choice, come no more  
‘ hither without arms. And if you are friends  
‘ it shall be my care, that your affairs shall be established upon the best foot.’ The *Chaldeans* having heard these things, after many assurances of friendship and trust given him, went home.

THE *Armenian*, as soon as he heard what *Cyrus* had done, and the request he had made him, took carpenters with him and all things else, that he thought necessary, and came to *Cyrus* with all possible dispatch. As soon as he saw *Cyrus* he said to him ; ‘ O *Cyrus* ! how few things in futurity are  
‘ men able to foresee ! and how many projects do  
‘ we undertake ! I have endeavoured upon this occasion to obtain liberty ; and I became more a  
‘ slave than ever ; and after having been made  
‘ captive, and thinking our destruction certain, we  
‘ now again appear to be in a condition of greater  
‘ safety and security than ever. For these men  
‘ never ceased doing us all manner of mischief ;  
‘ and I now find them just in the condition I wished. And be it known to you, said he, *Cyrus* !  
‘ that to have so driven the *Chaldeans* from these heights



‘ heights, I would have given many times the money you received from me. And the services you promised to us, when you took the money, you have now so fully performed, that we appear to be brought under new obligations to you, which, if we are not very ill men, we shall be ashamed not to discharge ; and whatever returns we make, we shall not be found to have done so much as such a benefactor deserves.’ Thus spoke the *Armenian*.

THE *Chaldæans* came back, begging of *Cyrus* to make peace with them. Then *Cyrus* asked them ; *Chaldæans*, said he, is it upon any other consideration that you desire peace, or is it only because you think you shall live with more security in peace, than if you continue the war, since we ourselves told you so ? ‘ We have other considerations,’ said the *Chaldæans*. ‘ And what, said he, if there are still other advantages that may accrue to you by peace ?’ ‘ We shall be still the more pleased,’ said they.——‘ Do you think therefore, said he, that your being a poor and needy people, is caused by any thing else but by the want of good land ?’ They agreed with him in this. ‘ Well then ! said *Cyrus*, would you willingly be at liberty to cultivate as much of the *Armenian* territory as you pleased ; paying the same for it that the *Armenians* do ?’ ‘ Yes, said they, if we could be secure that we should not be injured.’ ‘ What say you then, *Armenian*, said he, would you be willing to have your waste land cultivated upon terms that the farmers of it shall pay you the settled dues ?’ The *Armenian* said, He would give a great deal to have it so ; for his revenue would be much improved by it. And you, said he, *Chaldæans*, since you have mountains that are fertile ; would you consent that the *Armenians* should use them for pasture, upon condition



‘dition that they who make use of them, shall pay  
‘what is just and reasonable?’ The *Chaldeans*  
‘said, ‘That they would ; for it would be a con-  
‘siderable profit to them without any labour.’  
‘And you *Armenian*, said he, would you make use  
‘of the pastures of these men, if, by allowing a  
‘small profit to the *Chaldeans*, you might make a  
‘much greater profit by it yourselves?’ ‘Readily,  
‘said he, if I thought I might do it securely.’  
‘And securely you might do it, said he, if the sum-  
‘mits were in the hands of your friends.’ The  
*Armenian* agreed. ‘But truly, said the *Chaldeans*,  
‘we should not be able to cultivate securely, nei-  
‘ther the lands of these people, nor our own, if  
‘they are in possession of the summits.’ ‘But  
‘suppose, said he, the summits are possessed by  
‘such as are friends to you.’ ‘Thus indeed, said  
‘they, things might do very well.’ ‘But indeed,  
‘said the *Armenian*, things will not be well with us,  
‘if these men come to be again possessed of the  
‘summits ; especially when they are fortified.’——  
Then *Cyrus* said, ‘Thus therefore I will do ; I  
‘will give up the summits to neither of you, but  
‘we will keep them ourselves : and if either of you  
‘injure the other, we will take part with the inju-  
‘red.’ When they heard this, they both of them  
gave their applause, and said, ‘Thus only can the  
‘peace be firm and stable.’——Upon this they  
gave and received mutually assurances of friendship  
and trust, and stipulated to be both of them free  
and independent of each other, to inter-marry, to  
cultivate and feed each others lands reciprocally,  
and to be common allies and supports to each other  
against whosoever should injure either of them.  
Thus were these matters then transacted. And  
these agreements then made between the *Chaldeans*  
and the possessor of *Armenia* subsist still to this day.  
When the agreements were made, they both pre-  
sently



sently applied themselves with zeal to the building of this fortress as a common guard; and they jointly furnished all things necessary towards it.

WHEN evening came on, he took both parties to sup with him, as being now friends. As they were at supper, one of the *Chaldæans* said, ‘ That these things were such as all the rest of them wished for; but that there were some of the *Chaldæans* who lived by plunder, and who neither knew how to apply themselves to work; nor were able to do it, being accustomed to live by war. For they were always employed upon plunder, or hired out upon some service; frequently to the king of the *Indians*; for he is one,’ said they, ‘ that abounds in gold; and frequently to *Assyages*.’ Then *Cyrus* said, ‘ And why don’t they engage themselves to me? for I will give them as much as any other ever gave.’ They consented, and said, ‘ That there would be a great many that would willingly engage in his service.’ These things were accordingly agreed.

CYRUS, as soon as he heard that the *Chaldæans* frequently went to serve under the *Indian*, and remembering that there were certain persons that came from him to the *Medes* to apprise themselves of the *Median* affairs, and went thence to the enemy to get an insight likewise into their affairs; he was desirous that the *Indian* should be informed of what he had done. He therefore began a discourse to this effect; ‘ Tell me, said he, *Armenian*, and you *Chaldæans*, if I should send one of my people to the *Indian*, would you send with him some of yours who should direct him in his way, and act in concert with him, to obtain from the *Indian* the things that I desire? for I would procure some further addition to my treasure, that I may have what will fully suffice, to discharge the pay of those to whom it becomes due, and to honour and re-ward



ward such of my fellow-soldiers as are deserving,  
Upon these accounts I would have plenty of treasure; I think I want it; and to spare you would be a pleasure to me; (for I now reckon you our friends.) But from the *Indian* I would gladly accept of something if he would give it me. The messenger therefore that I desire you to give guides and assistants to, when he gets thither shall say thus.----Prince of *India*, *Cyrus* has sent me to you; he says that he is in want of money, expecting another army from *Persia*; (and in reality I do expect it, said he;) If you send him therefore as much as you can conveniently, he assures you that, if God gives a happy issue to his affairs, he will do his endeavours to make you think that you have taken a happy step in gratifying him.---This he shall say from me. Do you on the other side send him word by your people, that you think it will be of advantage to you. And if we get any thing from him,' said he, 'we shall have all things in greater plenty; if we get nothing, we shall know that we owe him no thanks, and that, as to him, we shall be at liberty to regulate all our affairs as best suits our own interests.'-----

Thus said *Cyrus*, counting upon it that those of the *Armenians* and *Chaldæans*, that went upon this message, would say such things of him, as he himself desired all men should say and hear concerning him. Then at the proper time they broke up the company in the tent, and went to rest.

THE next day, *Cyrus* sent away his messenger, charging him with all that he had before expressed. The *Armenian* and the *Chaldæans* sent with him such men as they judged most proper to act in concert with him, and to relate such things concerning *Cyrus* as were just and worthy of him.

AFTER this, *Cyrus* having supplied the fortress with a sufficient garrison, and with all things necessary



fary, and leaving as governor a certain *Mede*, one that he judged would be most agreeable to *Cyaxares*, marched away ; taking with him both the army that he came with, and that which he had from the *Armenian*, as well as the men he had from the *Chaldeans* who amounted to about four thousand, and thought themselves better than all the rest.

WHEN he came down into the inhabited country, not one of the *Armenians*, neither man nor woman, kept within doors ; but all went out and met him, being overjoyed at the peace, and running out with whatever they had of greatest value. The *Armenian* was not at all uneasy at these things ; thinking that *Cyrus* by means of the honours that were thus paid him by all, would be the better pleased. At last likewise the wife of the *Armenian* met him, having her daughters with her and her younger son ; and together with other presents, she brought that treasure that *Cyrus* had before refused. *Cyrus* when he saw her, said, ‘ Ye shall not make me such a  
‘ such a sort of a man as to run up and down the  
‘ world bestowing my services for money. Go your  
‘ ways, woman, and keep all this treasure that you  
‘ bring, and do not give it to the *Armenian* again to  
‘ bury : but equip your son with it in the hand-  
‘ somest manner, and send him to the war ; and  
‘ out of the remainder, supply yourself, your hus-  
‘ band, your daughters, and your sons, with every  
‘ thing whether for use or ornament, that may make  
‘ you pass your days in the most agreeable and hand-  
‘ some manner ; let it suffice us to lay our bodies  
‘ under ground, every one of us when we die.’—  
 Having said this, he marched on ; the *Armenian* attended upon him, as all the rest likewise did ; calling him aloud, ‘ Their benefactor and an excellent  
‘ man !’ Thus they did, till they had conducted him out of their territory. The *Armenian* sent a greater force with him, being now at peace at home. So  
*Cyrus*



*Cyrus* went away, not only enriched with the treasure he had received, but by means of his conduct he had laid up a much greater store, and could supply himself whenever he wanted. They then encamped upon the borders. The next day, he sent the army and treasure to *Cyaxares*, who was at hand as he had said he would be. He with *Tygranes*, and the principal *Persians* hunted where they met with game, and diverted themselves.

WHEN he came into *Media*, he distributed money to his centurions; as much as he thought sufficient for each of them, and that they might have wherewithal to reward such of their men under them, as they might happen to be particularly pleased with. For he thought that if every one rendered his part of the army praise worthy, the whole would be set right to his hands. And if he any where observed any thing that might contribute to the beauty of the army, he purchased it, and gave it to the most deserving; reckoning that whatever his men were possessed of, that was beautiful and noble, it was all an ornament to himself.

WHEN he had made a distribution amongst them out of what he had received, then, in an assembly of centurions, captains, and all others that he particularly esteemed, he spoke to this effect. ‘ Friends! ‘ a particular pleasure and satisfaction seems now to ‘ attend us, both because we have plenty; and that ‘ we are in possession of what enables us to bestow ‘ rewards where we desire, and to be rewarded every one according to his merit. But then we ought ‘ by all means to remember what the things are that ‘ have procured us these advantages; and upon examination, you will find them to be these. Our ‘ being watchful upon the proper occasions, our being laborious, our dispatch, and our not giving ‘ way to the enemy. It is our part therefore to continue thus, brave men, for the future; determining  
‘ ing



‘ ing with ourselves, that obedience and resolution,  
 ‘ labours, and hazard upon the proper occasions,  
 ‘ are things that produce great pleasures and great  
 ‘ advantages.’

BUT *Cyrus*, considering how well the bodies of his men stood with respect to their being able to undergo all military labours ; how well their minds were disposed with respect to contempt of the enemy ; how skilful they were in all things fitting, each in their several sorts of arms ; and he saw that they were all well disposed with respect to obedience to their commanders ; from all this therefore he now desired to come to action with the enemy : knowing that by delay some part or other of a noble preparation comes to change and fail in the commander’s hands. And besides observing that from a contention in things wherein men are ambitious to exceed, the soldiers had contracted envy and ill-will to each other ; he was for this reason desirous to lead them as soon as possible out into the enemy’s country ; knowing that common dangers make friends ; and fellow-combatants keep in a friendly disposition one towards another ; and that in this circumstance they neither envy those that are finely armed, nor those that are ambitious of glory ; but that even such men themselves rather applaud and esteem others that are like them, accounting them their fellow-labourers in the public service. So in the first place, he completely armed them all ; and formed them into the best and most beautiful order that was possible. He then summoned the commanders of ten thousands, the commanders of thousands, the centurions and captains ; (for these were exempt from being reckoned of the number of those that constituted the military rank. And when they were to execute any orders from the commander in chief, or to transmit any particular directions to others ;



others ; yet thus there was nothing left confused and without rule ; but the remainder of the men were preserved in order by the commanders of twelves and sixes.) When the proper persons were assembled, he conducted them about with him, and shewed them all that was right and in proper order ; and taught them in what consisted the strength of every ally. And when he had raised in these men a desire of doing something, he bid them go to their several distinct bodies, teach them what he had taught themselves, and endeavour to inspire them all with a desire of action ; that they might set forward with all possible ardour. And he bid them, in the morning, attend at *Cyaxares's* doors. They then retired, and did as they were ordered.

THE next morning as soon as it was day, the proper persons attended at the doors ; and *Cyrus*, entering in with them to *Cyaxares*, began a discourse to this effect. ‘ I know, *Cyaxares*,’ said he, ‘ that what I am going to say is not less your  
‘ opinion than it is our own ; but perhaps you may  
‘ be unwilling to express it ; lest you should seem  
‘ to put us in mind of marching away, as if the  
‘ maintaining us were burthenfome and uneasy to  
‘ you. Therefore since you are silent, I will speak  
‘ both for you and for ourselves.---Since we are pre-  
‘ pared and ready, it is the opinion of us all not to  
‘ delay engaging the enemy till after they have  
‘ broken in upon your country ; and not to sit down  
‘ and wait here in the territory of our friends ; but  
‘ to march with all possible dispatch into the ene-  
‘ my’s country. For now that we are here in your  
‘ territory, we are forced against our wills to injure  
‘ you many ways. But if we march into the ene-  
‘ my’s country, we shall with pleasure do them mis-  
‘ chief. Then, it is you that now maintain us, and  
‘ at a great expence. If we carry the war abroad,  
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‘ we shall be maintained upon the enemy’s country.  
 ‘ But then indeed if our danger was to be greater  
 ‘ than it is here, perhaps the safest course should be  
 ‘ taken; but they will be the same men, whether  
 ‘ we wait here for them, or march into their own  
 ‘ country and meet them. And we shall be the  
 ‘ same, whether we receive them here as they come  
 ‘ upon us, or march up to them and attack them.  
 ‘ But we shall have the minds of our men in better  
 ‘ condition, and more animated, if we march to  
 ‘ the enemy, and seem not to get sight of them  
 ‘ against our wills. They will have a much great-  
 ‘ er terror of us, when they shall hear that we do  
 ‘ not sit at home in dread, and terrified with them;  
 ‘ but that, as soon as we perceive them advancing,  
 ‘ we march and meet them, in order to close with  
 ‘ them as soon as possible; and that we do not wait  
 ‘ till our own country is distressed by them; but  
 ‘ that we prevent them and lay their lands waste.  
 ‘ And then,’ said he, ‘ if we strike terror into them,  
 ‘ and raise courage in ourselves; I take this to  
 ‘ be a very great advantage to us. Thus, I  
 ‘ reckon the danger to be much less to us, and  
 ‘ much greater to the enemy. And my father  
 ‘ always says, you yourself say, and all others  
 ‘ agree, that battles are decided rather by the cou-  
 ‘ rage and spirits of men, than by the strength of  
 ‘ their bodies.’——Thus he spoke, and *Cyaxares*  
 replied——‘ O *Cyrus*, and you the rest of the  
 ‘ *Persians*, do not imagine that the maintaining you  
 ‘ is burthensome and uneasy to me. But indeed the  
 ‘ marching into the enemy’s country seems now to  
 ‘ me to be the better course.’ ‘ Since therefore,’  
 said *Cyrus*, ‘ we agree in opinion, let us make all  
 ‘ things ready; and if our sacred rites signify the  
 ‘ approbation of the gods, let us depart as soon as  
 ‘ possible.’

UPON



UPON this, giving orders to the soldiers to make all things ready, *Cyrus* made a sacrifice; first to REGAL JOVE, then to the other DEITIES; and prayed, that they would vouchsafe to be conductors to the army, good and gracious assistants and friends, and direct them in all happy courses! He invoked likewise the HEROES, inhabitants and guardians of the land of *MEDIA*. When he had sacrificed happily, and the whole army was formed upon the borders, meeting with happy auguries, he fell into the enemy's country. As soon as he had passed the borders, he performed propitiatory rites, to the EARTH by libations, and to the GODS by sacrifice; and implored the favour of the HEROES inhabitants of *ASSYRIA*. And having done this, he again sacrificed to PATERNAL JOVE; and whatever other DEITY occurred to him, he neglected none.

WHEN these things were duly performed, making the foot advance at a small distance forward, they encamped; and making excursions around with the horse, they furnished themselves with great quantities of all kinds of booty. Then changing their encampments, and being provided with all things necessary in abundance, and laying the country waste, they waited for the enemy. When they were said to be advancing, and not to be at the distance of above two days march; then *Cyrus* said, 'Now, *Cyaxares*! is the time for us to march and meet them; and not to appear either to the enemy, or to our own people, afraid of advancing against them. But let us make it evident that we do not come to a battle with them against our wills.'—When *Cyaxares* had agreed, they advanced towards the enemy, keeping always in order; and marching each day as far as they thought it proper, they took their supper by day-light; and made no fires in their camp by night; but made them be-

K 2

fore



fore the front of the camp, that by means of these fires they might perceive if any people approached in the night, and might not be seen themselves by the approachers: and they frequently made their fires behind the camp, in order to deceive the enemy; so that the enemy's people that were sent out for intelligence, sometimes fell in with the advanced guards, thinking themselves to be still at a distance from the camp, because the fires were behind.

THE *Assyrians* then, and those that attended them, as soon as the armies were near to each other, threw up an entrenchment round themselves; a thing that the *Barbarian* kings practise to this day, when they encamp; and they do it with ease by means of their multitude of hands. For they know that an army of horse in the night, is confused and unwieldy; especially if they are barbarian. For they have their horses tied down to their mangers; and if they are attacked it is troublesome in the night to loose the horses; to bridie them, and to put on them their breast-plates and other furniture; and when they have mounted their horses, it is absolutely impossible to march them through the camp. Upon all these accounts, both they and others of them throw up an entrenchment round themselves; and they imagine that their being entrenched puts it in their power as long as they please to avoid fighting. And, thus doing, they approached each other.

WHEN they were advanced to about the distance of a parasang, the *Assyrians* encamped in the manner before expressed, in a post entrenched, but exposed to view; *Cyrus* in a place the most concealed that was possible, with villages and rising grounds before him reckoning that all things hostile that discover themselves on a sudden, are the more terrible to the opposite party. And both parties that  
night



night posting advanced guards as was proper, went to rest.

THE next day the *Assyrian*, and *Cræsus*, and the other leaders, gave their armies rest in their strong camp. *Cyrus* and *Cyaxares* waited in order of battle, as intending to fight if the enemy advanced. When it appeared that the enemy would not stir out of their entrenchment, nor come to a battle that day, *Cyaxares* summoned *Cyrus*, and all the other proper persons to him; and spoke to this effect.—‘It is my opinion, friend!’ said he, ‘that we should march, in the order we are in, up to the entrenchment of these men, and shew them that we are desirous to come to a battle; for by this means,’ said he, ‘if they do not come out to us, our men will act with the more courage against them; and the enemy, observing our boldness, will be the more terrified.’——This was his opinion. But *Cyrus* said, ‘By the gods! *Cyaxares*! We must by no means act in this manner; for if we now discover ourselves, and march as you desire, the enemy will see us advancing towards them, and will be in no manner of fear of us, knowing themselves to be in a situation secure from any danger; and after having made this march, when we shall retreat, then again, seeing our numbers much inferior to theirs, they will have a contempt for us; and to-morrow will march out with minds more firm and resolute. But now,’ said he, ‘that they know we are at hand, without seeing us; be assured they do not contemn us, but are solicitous to know how things stand; and are, I know very well, continually taken up in debating about us. But when they march out, then ought we at once to make our appearance, march instantly and close with them; taking them at the advantage we have heretofore desired.’——*Cyrus* having spoke thus; *Cyaxares* and the rest agreed in opinion



nion with him. Then having taken their suppers, placed their guards, and made fires in front before those guards, they went to rest.

THE next day early in the morning, *Cyrus*, with a crown upon his head made a sacrifice; and ordered the rest of the alike-honoured to attend the holy rites with crowns. When the sacrifice was over, *Cyrus* called them together and said.—‘ The GODS, ‘ friends! as the diviners say, and as I myself think, ‘ do foretel that there will be a battle. They give ‘ us victory and promise us safety by the victims.— ‘ I ought perhaps to be ashamed to direct what sort ‘ of men you ought to shew yourselves upon such ‘ an occasion; for I know you understand those ‘ things as well as I do; that you have practised ‘ and learned, and continue to learn all the same ‘ things that I have done, so that you may justly in- ‘ struct others in them: but if perhaps you may not ‘ have taken exact notice of them, pray hear.— ‘ Those men that we have lately admitted as our ‘ fellow-combatants, and have endeavoured to make ‘ like ourselves, it is your part to put them in mind ‘ for what purposes we are all maintained by ‘ *Cyaxares*, what the things are that we practise, and ‘ have invited them to, and wherein, they said, they ‘ would joyfully be our rivals. And put them in ‘ mind likewise of this, that this day will shew what ‘ every one deserves. For in things where men ‘ have been late learners, it is no wonder that some ‘ of them have need of a monitor. One ought to ‘ be contented if they can make themselves good ‘ and useful men upon admonition. Then in doing ‘ this you will make trial of yourselves. For he ‘ that upon such an occasion is able to make others ‘ better men, must be justly conscious of being him- ‘ self completely good. But he who bears these ‘ things in mind to himself only, and rests satis- ‘ fied with that, should in justice account himself ‘ but



‘ but half complete. The reason why I do not  
‘ speak to these men myself, but bid you do it, is  
‘ because they may endeavour to please you ; for  
‘ you are immediately conversant with them, every  
‘ one of you in his particular part. And be assu-  
‘ red that while you shew yourselves, to be in cou-  
‘ rage and heart, you will teach courage to these  
‘ men and to many more, not by words but by  
‘ deed.’—In conclusion he bid them go crowned as  
they were to their dinners ; and when they had  
performed their libations, to come crowned to their  
ranks.

WHEN these men were gone, he summoned the  
rear-leaders to him, and spake to them to this ef-  
fect. ‘ You likewise, men of *Persia*, are become  
‘ part of the alike-honoured ; and have been cho-  
‘ sen as men who appear to be equal in all other  
‘ respects to the bravest, but by your age to excel  
‘ in discretion. You have therefore a station as-  
‘ signed you, which is no less honourable than that  
‘ of the file-leaders. For being placed in the rear,  
‘ and observing the brave, and encouraging them,  
‘ you make them still the better men ; and if any  
‘ one acts remissly, you do not suffer him to do so.  
‘ If victory be of advantage to any, it is so to you,  
‘ both by reason of your age, and of the weight  
‘ of your military habit. If they therefore who  
‘ are before, call out to you and exhort you to fol-  
‘ low, comply with them ; and that you may not  
‘ be out-done by them in this, do you exhort them  
‘ in return to lead with more dispatch to the enemy.  
‘ Go then, said he, and when you have taken your  
‘ dinners, come crowned with the rest to your  
‘ ranks.’ *Cyrus’s* men were thus employed.

THE *Assyrians* when they had dined, marched  
boldly out, and formed themselves with a great deal  
of resolution. The king himself formed them,  
driving round in his chariot. And he made them



an exhortation in this manner.—‘ Men of *Assyria*,  
 ‘ now is the time for you to be brave men ! For  
 ‘ now is your trial for your lives, for the country  
 ‘ where you were born, for the houses where you  
 ‘ were bred, for your wives and children, and for  
 ‘ all things valuable that you possess ! If you con-  
 ‘ quer, you remain masters of all these as before.  
 ‘ If you are defeated, be assured you give them  
 ‘ all up to the enemy. Therefore as you value  
 ‘ victory stand firm and fight ! For it is a folly  
 ‘ for those that desire conquest, to turn the blind,  
 ‘ unarmed, and harmless parts of their bodies to  
 ‘ the enemy by flight. He is a fool who for love  
 ‘ of life should attempt flying, when he knows that  
 ‘ the conquerors are safe, and that runaways meet  
 ‘ death more certainly than they who stand their  
 ‘ ground. And he is a fool who out of love to his  
 ‘ money submits to a defeat ; for who is there that  
 ‘ does not know that conquerors save all that be-  
 ‘ longs to themselves, and acquire besides all that  
 ‘ belongs to the defeated enemy ? But they who are  
 ‘ defeated throw both themselves and all that be-  
 ‘ longs to them away.’——Thus was the *Assyrian*  
 employed.

BUT *Cyaxares* sending to *Cyrus*, told him ‘ That  
 ‘ now was the opportunity of leading to the enemy ;  
 ‘ for, said he, if there are yet but few that are  
 ‘ got out of the entrenchment, by that time we ar-  
 ‘ rive there will be great numbers of them. There-  
 ‘ fore let us not wait, till they are more numerous  
 ‘ than ourselves ; but let us march, whilst we think  
 ‘ we may yet easily master them.’——*Cyrus* repli-  
 ‘ ed ; Unless those, *Cyaxares* ! that we shall defeat,  
 ‘ amount to above half the number of the enemy,  
 ‘ be assured they will say that we are afraid of their  
 ‘ numbers, and therefore attacked but a few of  
 ‘ them. They will not take themselves to be de-  
 ‘ feated. And it will be necessary for you to  
 ‘ come



‘ come to another battle, when perhaps they will  
‘ contrive better than they do now ; that they give  
‘ themselves up to us to parcel out and engage as  
‘ many of them as we please.’ The messengers  
having heard this went their way.

UPON this came *Chryfantas* the *Persian*, and others of the alike-honoured, bringing with them certain deserters. *Cyrus*, as usual, required from these deserters an account of the enemy. They told him that they were already marching out in arms ; that the king was come out and was forming them ; and that continually as they marched out, he made them many warm and vigorous exhortations, as the hearers, they said, reported. Here *Chryfantas* spoke : — ‘ *Cyrus*, said he, what  
‘ therefore if you should call the soldiers together,  
‘ while you are yet at liberty to make them an ex-  
‘ hortation, in order to make them braver and bet-  
‘ ter men ?’ — Then *Cyrus* said, ‘ O *Chryfantas*, let  
‘ not the exhortations of the *Assyrians* disturb you ;  
‘ for no exhortation, whatever, though never so  
‘ noble, can at that instant, make the hearers brave  
‘ if they were not so before. Nor can it make  
‘ them skilful at the bow unless they have before  
‘ practised it ; nor skilful at the javelin, nor horse-  
‘ men ; nor can it give them bodies capable of la-  
‘ bour, unless they have been before enured to it.’  
*Chryfantas* then said, ‘ But it is enough if you can  
‘ make their minds better by your exhortation.’ —  
‘ And can a word, said *Cyrus*, spoken at the instant,  
‘ inspire the minds of the hearers with a sense of  
‘ shame, or hinder them from doing things mean  
‘ and base ? Can it influence them effectually to  
‘ undergo all labours, and run all hazards to gain  
‘ praise ? Can it establish this sentiment firmly in  
‘ their minds, that to die fighting is rather to be  
‘ chosen than to be saved by flying ? And if such  
‘ sentiments, said he, are to be instilled into men,  
‘ and



‘ and to be made lasting, ought not there to be in  
 ‘ the first place, such laws established where-  
 ‘ by a life with honour and liberty should be provi-  
 ‘ ded for the brave ? and such a course of life tra-  
 ‘ ced out and laid before the vicious, as should be  
 ‘ abject and painful, and not worth living out ?  
 ‘ Then there ought to be teachers and governors in  
 ‘ these affairs, who should direct men right, should  
 ‘ teach and accustom them to practise these things,  
 ‘ till they could determine with themselves, that  
 ‘ the brave and the renowned are in reality the hap-  
 ‘ piest of all ; and to judge that the vicious and  
 ‘ the infamous are of all the most miserable. For  
 ‘ thus ought those to stand affected, who are to  
 ‘ make their institution and discipline over-rule  
 ‘ their fear of the enemy. But if just at the time  
 ‘ that men are marching in arms to the enemy,  
 ‘ when many are hurried out of all their former  
 ‘ learning and knowledge, it were in any one’s pow-  
 ‘ er by putting together a set form of words, to  
 ‘ make men, in the instant, soldiers, then were it  
 ‘ the easiest thing in the world both to learn and  
 ‘ to teach the greatest virtue that belongs to men.  
 ‘ Nor could I be secure that the men, we now have,  
 ‘ and that have been exercised under us, would re-  
 ‘ main firm unless I saw you here present with them,  
 ‘ who will be examples to them in their behaviour,  
 ‘ and will be able to remind them, if they are at a  
 ‘ loss in any thing. I should very much wonder,  
 ‘ said he, *Chryfantas*, if a discourse never so finely  
 ‘ spoken should be able to teach bravery to men  
 ‘ wholly undisciplined in virtue, any more than a  
 ‘ song well sung, could teach music to such as  
 ‘ were wholly uninstructed in it.’ — In this  
 manner they discoursed.

AND *Cyanares* sent word again to *Cyrus* that he  
 was much in the wrong to spend time, and not  
 march immediately to the enemy. *Cyrus* made  
 answer



answer to the messengers ; ‘ Let him be assured, said he, that there are not yet come out so many of them as there ought to be ; and tell him this openly before all : but since it is his opinion, I will lead out this instant.’——Having said this, and made his supplications to the *G O D S*, he led the army out. As soon as he began to put forward with more dispatch, he led the way, and they followed ; and they did it in a very orderly manner, because they understood how to march in order, and had been exercised in it ; they did it with vigour and resolution, by means of their emulation to each other, by having enured their bodies to labour, and having all their officers at the head of them ; and they did it with pleasure, because they were wise ; for they knew and had long since learned, that it was their safest and easiest course, to close with the enemy ; especially when consisting of archers, of men armed with javelins, and of horsemen. While they were yet out of reach of the enemy’s weapons, *Cyrus* gave out the word, which was this, *Jove our assistant and leader !* When the word came about again, he began the usual *hymn*, to the sons of *Jove*, *Castor* and *Pollux*. They all with great devotion accompanied him with a loud voice ; for in such a circumstance they who fear the deities are less in fear of men. When the hymn was over, the alike-honoured marching with alacrity and perfect good discipline, and at the same time looking round at each other, calling by their names those that were on each hand of them, and those that were the next behind them, and frequently crying out, —— Come on, friends ! Come on, brave men ! ----- they exhorted each other to follow. They that were behind hearing this, exhorted the foremost in return to lead on with vigour and resolution. And *Cyrus* had an army full of spirit and of ardour, in the pursuit of honour ;



honour; full of vigour, boldness, mutual exhortation, discretion, and obedience, which I think the most terrible to an enemy.

THOSE of the *Assyrians* who fought from their chariots in front before the rest, as soon as the *Persian* body was near and ready to close in with them, mounted their chariots and retreated to their own body. Their archers and their men armed with the javelin, and their slingers made the discharge of their weapons a good while before they could reach their enemy. As soon as the *Persians* came up upon these weapons, that had been thus discharged, *Cyrus* cried aloud, ——— ‘ Now, my brave men ! let somebody distinguish himself and march quicker on ! and transmit this order to the rest ! ’ — They accordingly transmitted it. And some out of zeal and ardour, and out of desire to close with the enemy, began to run. The whole *Phalanx* followed running. *Cyrus* himself forgetting his slower pace, led them on running ; and cried out at the same time, ——— ‘ Who follows ! who is brave ! who will first prostrate his man ! ’ They hearing this cried out in the same manner ; and as he first gave it out, so it ran through them all, who will follow ? Who is brave ? In this disposition did the *Persians* close with the enemy.

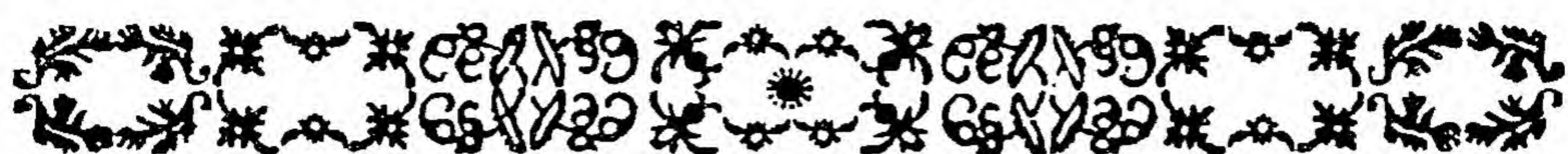
The enemy were no longer able to stand them, but turned and fled to the entrenchment ; the *Persians* following up to the entrances of the entrenchment, laid many of them on the ground as they were pressing upon each other, and leaping in after those that fell into the ditch, they killed them, both men and horses, promiscuously ; for some of the chariots of the enemy were forced on in their flight, and fell in amongst the rest. The *Median* horse, observing these things, charged the enemy’s horse ; and they gave way before them. Then followed a pursuit both of horses and men,  
and



and a mighty slaughter of both. They who were within the *Assyrian* entrenchment, and were posted at the top of it, by reason of the dreadful spectacle before them and of their terror, had neither ability nor skill to do execution, with their arrows and javelins upon those that were making destruction of their people. And learning presently after, that some of the *Persians* had cut their way through, at the entrances of the entrenchment, they turned away and fled from the top of it. The *Assyrian* women and those of their allies, some of them, such as had children, and some that were of the younger sort, seeing that they already began to fly in the camp, set up a clamour and run up and down in consternation, rending their cloaths and tearing themselves, and begging of every one they met not to fly and abandon them, but to stand by their children, by them, and by each other. Here their princes themselves with those they chiefly confided in, standing at the entrances of the entrenchment, and mounting to the top of it, fought themselves, and encouraged the rest. As soon as *Cyrus* knew how things stood, being afraid lest being but few, they should be but ill-treated by the great multitude of the enemy if they forced their way in, he gave out orders to retreat out of the reach of the enemy's weapons, and required their obedience in so doing. Here one might distinguish the alike-honoured, and such as were formed to due discipline : for they instantly obeyed, and transmitted the orders to the rest. When they were out of the reach of the enemy's weapons, they stood in their several stations much more regularly than a set of dancers ; every one knowing with great exactness where he was to be.

CYRO-





# CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

O. F

CYRUS.

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By XENOPHON.

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BOOK IV.

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YRUS waiting there for some considerable time with the army, and having made it appear that they were ready to fight if any would come out against them, since no body stirred, led off at the distance he thought proper, and they encamped.

THEN having placed his guards, and sent out his scouts, he placed himself in the midst, and calling his soldiers together he spoke to this effect.---‘ Men  
‘ of *Persia*, I do in the first place give all possible  
‘ praise to the gods! I believe you all do the same ;  
‘ for we have obtained conquest and safety. Out  
‘ of



‘ of what we possess, therefore, it is our duty to  
‘ make the gods presents of gratitude and thanks in  
‘ return of these things. After this I give praise to  
‘ you all: For the action that is passed has been  
‘ performed by you all. When I have made my  
‘ enquiry from the proper persons what each man  
‘ deserves, I will endeavour, both in word and in  
‘ deed, to pay every man his due.——With re-  
‘ spect to *Chrysfantas* indeed, who was the nearest  
‘ centurion to me, I need not enquire of others, but  
‘ I know myself how well he behaved. For he  
‘ performed all those other acts that I believe you all  
‘ did; and when I gave out orders to retreat, call-  
‘ ing upon him particularly by name; he who had  
‘ his sword held up to give his enemy a stroke,  
‘ obeyed me in the instant; and forbearing to do  
‘ what he was about, performed my command.  
‘ For he retreated himself, and transmitted the or-  
‘ der with the greatest dispatch to others. So that  
‘ he got his century out of weapon’s cast before the  
‘ enemy perceived that we were retreating; before  
‘ they extended their bows, or threw their javelins;  
‘ so that he was himself unhurt, and kept his men  
‘ unhurt by this obedience: but there are others,’  
said he, ‘ that I see wounded. And when I have  
‘ examined at what time it was that that they were  
‘ wounded, I will then declare my opinion concern-  
‘ ing them. *Chrysfantas* I now reward with the  
‘ command of a thousand, as a man vigorous in  
‘ action, prudent and able both to obey and com-  
‘ mand. And when God shall grant us any far-  
‘ ther advantage, neither will I then forget him.  
‘ ——And I am desirous too,’ said he, ‘ to  
‘ give you all an advice; that you would never  
‘ lose the remembrance and the consideration of  
‘ what you now see by this battle; that you  
‘ may always have it settled in your minds whe-  
‘ ther it is flight, or virtue rather, that preserves  
‘ the



‘ the lives of men ; whether they who readily en-  
 ‘ gage in action come off the better ; or they who  
 ‘ are backward and unwilling ; and that you may  
 ‘ judge how great a pleasure it is that victory af-  
 ‘ fords. You may now the better make a judg-  
 ‘ ment of these things, having had experience of  
 ‘ them, and the affair having been so lately trans-  
 ‘ acted. And,’ said he, ‘ by having the considera-  
 ‘ tion of these things always present in your minds,  
 ‘ you will become the better men.---Now, like dis-  
 ‘ creet and worthy men favoured of heaven, take  
 ‘ your suppers, make your libations to the gods,  
 ‘ begin your hymn, and be observant of the word  
 ‘ of command !’

THIS said, he mounted on his horse and rode off.  
 Then coming to *Cyaxares*, and having congratulated  
 with him as was proper, having seen how things  
 stood there, and having enquired whether *Cyaxares*  
 had any further need of him, he rode back to his  
 own army. *Cyrus*’s men having taken their suppers,  
 and placed their guards as was proper, went to rest.

THE *Assyrians*, their prince being killed, and  
 together with him all the bravest of their men,  
 were all in a desponding condition ; and many of  
 them fled from the camp in the night. Upon see-  
 ing these things, *Cræsus* and their other allies lost all  
 courage, for they were surrounded with difficulties  
 on all sides. And what chiefly sunk the courage of  
 them all, was, that the principal nation of all that  
 were in the army, were entirely confounded in their  
 opinions. So they quitted the camp, and went off  
 in the night.

As soon as it was day, and that the camp ap-  
 peared to be entirely abandoned, *Cyrus* immediately  
 made the *Persians* march first into it. Great num-  
 bers of sheep and oxen had been left there by the  
 enemy ; and many waggons full of abundance of  
 valuable things. After this, the *Medes*, with *Cyaxares*,  
 marched



marched in, and there took their dinners. When they had dined, *Cyrus* called his centurions together, and spoke to this effect. ‘ Friends, how many valuable things have we in my opinion perfectly thrown away when the gods had delivered them into our hands ! For you yourselves see that the enemy are flying for fear of us. And how can any body think that they, who, when possessed of an entrenched post, quitted it and fled, can stand, and look us in the face upon fair ground ? They who did not stand before they had made trial of us, how should such men stand after they are beaten, and have been so ill-treated by us ? How should the worst of those men incline to fight us, of whom the best have been destroyed ?’ Upon this some body said ; ‘ Why don’t we immediately pursue, when the advantages we have are so evident ?’ *Cyrus* replied, ‘ Why because we want horse. And the best of the enemy and such as it is most for our purpose to take or to destroy, are retiring on horse-back. And those that (with the help of the gods !) we are able to put to flight, we are not able to take in the pursuit.’ ‘ Why then,’ said they, do not you go to *Cyaxares*, and tell him these things.’ To this he said, ‘ Come therefore, all of you along with me ; that he may see we are all of us of this opinion.’ Upon this they all followed him, and said what they thought was proper concerning the things they desired.

*CYAXARES*, partly out of a sort of envy because they had begun the discourse upon the subject, and partly perhaps because he thought it best for him not to hazard another battle, (for he was indulging himself in pleasure, and observed that many of the *Medes* were doing the same thing,) spoke therefore in this manner.—‘ I am convinced, *Cyrus* ! by the testimony both of my eyes and ears, that you *Per-*



‘ *fians* of all mankind, study the most how to keep  
 ‘ yourselves from being impotent, and insatiable in  
 ‘ any kind of pleasure. But my opinion is, that it  
 ‘ is by much the most advantageous thing to be  
 ‘ master of one’s self in the greatest pleasure of all.  
 ‘ And what is there that gives men greater pleasure  
 ‘ than the good fortune that has now befallen us?  
 ‘ Therefore since we have that good fortune, if we  
 ‘ take care to preserve it with discretion and tem-  
 ‘ per, perhaps we may without hazard grow old in  
 ‘ happiness. But if we use it greedily and insatia-  
 ‘ bly, and endeavour to pursue one piece of good  
 ‘ fortune after another, take care lest we suffer the  
 ‘ same fate, that they say many people do at sea,  
 ‘ who by means of their having been once fortunate,  
 ‘ will never cease repeating their voyages till they are  
 ‘ lost. And as they say many do, who having ob-  
 ‘ tained one victory, and aiming at more, have lost  
 ‘ the first. If indeed the enemy, who are fled, were  
 ‘ fewer than we, perhaps we might pursue those  
 ‘ with safety; but consider what part of them it  
 ‘ was that our whole number fought and conquer-  
 ‘ ed; the rest were out of the action; and unless  
 ‘ we force them to fight, are going their ways mean-  
 ‘ ly and ignorantly, without knowing their own  
 ‘ strength or ours. If they shall find that they are  
 ‘ not less in danger in retreating, than they are in  
 ‘ standing us, how can it happen otherwise, than  
 ‘ that we shall force them, even against their wills,  
 ‘ to be brave? For be assured that you are not  
 ‘ more desirous to seize their wives and children,  
 ‘ than they are to preserve them. And consider  
 ‘ even swine, that they, though many in number,  
 ‘ betake themselves to flight, together with their  
 ‘ young, as soon as they are discovered: But if any  
 ‘ man pursue one of their little ones, the sow though  
 ‘ she be single, does not continue her flight, but  
 ‘ attacks



‘ attacks the pursuer that attempts to take it. Now  
‘ these men, upon this late occasion, had shut them-  
‘ selves up in an entrenchment, and let themselves  
‘ be parcelled out by us in such a manner as put it  
‘ into our power to engage as many of them as we  
‘ pleased. But if we march up to them in an open  
‘ country, and they shall have learnt to divide and  
‘ extend themselves, so that part of them shall op-  
‘ pose us in front, part upon one wing, and part  
‘ upon another, and some in our rear; do you then  
‘ take care lest we every one of us stand in need  
‘ of many more hands and arms than we have.  
‘ Besides,’ said he, ‘ now that I observe the *Medes*  
‘ to be enjoying themselves, I should be very un-  
‘ willing to rouse them from their pleasures, and  
‘ compel them to throw themselves into danger.’

THEN *Cyrus* in reply said,——‘ You shall compel  
‘ no one. Do but allow those to follow me that are  
‘ willing to do it. Perhaps we may come back and  
‘ bring you and every one of these friends of yours  
‘ what you will all be pleased with. We will not  
‘ pursue the main body of the enemy; for how  
‘ should we be able to lay our hands on them? But  
‘ if we meet with any thing straggling from the rest  
‘ of the army, or left behind, we will come and  
‘ bring it you. Consider then,’ said he, ‘ that,  
‘ when you wanted us, we came a long journey to  
‘ do you pleasure. It were but just therefore, that  
‘ you should gratify us in return; that we may go  
‘ home possessed of something, and not all of us  
‘ have our eye to your treasures.’—Here *Cyaxares*  
said; ‘ If any one indeed would attend you of his  
‘ own accord, I should think myself obliged to you.’  
‘ Send with me then one of these credible persons  
‘ who shall tell your message.’ ‘ Come!’ said he,  
‘ take which of them you please.’—And there hap-  
pened to be that person present who had called



himself his relation, and that he had kissed. *Cyrus* therefore immediately said, ‘ I am contented with this man.’ ‘ Let him therefore,’ said he, ‘ attend you ; and do you,’ said he, ‘ declare, that any one who is willing, may go with *Cyrus*.’ So taking this man with him, he went out. As soon as he came out, *Cyrus* presently said to him, ‘ Now you will make it appear whether you spoke truth when you said you were delighted with the sight of me.’ ‘ When you propose this matter,’ said the *Mede*, ‘ I will not abandon you.’ ‘ And will not you,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ yourself espouse it, and propose it to others ?’ Then, with an oath, ‘ By *Jove* !’ said he, ‘ I will, and that till I make you delighted with the sight of me !’ Then did this messenger of *Cyaxares* discharge himself with zeal in all respects by declaring his message to the *Medes* ; and added this of himself ; ‘ That, for his part, he would not desert this best and most excellent of men, and what was above all, this man who derived his original from the gods !’

WHILE *Cyrus* was transacting these affairs, there came messengers from the *Hyrceanians*, as if by divine appointment. The *Hyrceanians* are borderers upon the *Assyrians* ; they are no great nation, and therefore subject to the *Assyrians* ; they at that time, it seems, consisted of horse, and do so at this day : The *Assyrians* therefore used them as the *Lacedemonians* do the people of *Sciros*, not sparing them in fatigues and dangers ; and they at that time had commanded them to make the rear-guard, being a thousand horse, that in case any danger pressed upon them in the rear, these men might have it fall upon them before it reached themselves. The *Hyrceanians* being to march behind all, had their waggon and domestics in the rear. For most of the inhabitants of *Asia* are attended in their military

And



expeditions by those that they live with at home. And the *Hyrcanians* at that time attended the service in that manner. Considering therefore with themselves what they suffered under the *Assyrians*; that the army was now under great terror; that their prince was now dead, and they beaten: that their allies were in a desponding condition, and were quitting them; upon these considerations this appeared to them to be a noble opportunity to revolt, if *Cyrus's* men would but fall upon the enemy in conjunction with them. Accordingly they sent messengers to *Cyrus*; for since the battle, his fame was grown to the greatest height.

THE men that were sent told *Cyrus*, ‘ That they  
‘ had a just hatred to the *Assyrians*; that if he  
‘ would now march up to them, they themselves  
‘ would be his assistants, and lead him the way.’ They gave him likewise accounts of the circumstances of the enemy, as men who were extremely desirous to animate him to this expedition. Then *Cyrus* asked them, ‘ Do you think,’ said he, ‘ that we can  
‘ get up with them before they get into their fortresses? For,’ said he, ‘ we take it to be a very great  
‘ misfortune that they fled without our knowledge.’ This, he said, with intention to raise in them the greatest confidence possible in himself and his people. They replied, ‘ That if he and his men, setting out early in the morning, marched with expedition, they might come up with them even the  
‘ next day; for by reason of their multitude, and  
‘ the number of their carriages, they marched very slowly. And besides, said they, having had  
‘ no rest the night before, they marched but a little  
‘ way, and are now encamped.’ Then *Cyrus*, said, ‘ Have you any pledge therefore to give us of the  
‘ truth of what you say?’ ‘ We will go, said they,  
‘ this instant, and bring you hostages to night. Do  
‘ you



‘ you only give us the security of your taking the  
 ‘ gods to witness on your part, and give us your  
 ‘ right-hand ; that what we ourselves thus receive  
 ‘ from you, we may carry to the rest of our peo-  
 ‘ ple.’ Upon this he gave them the testimonials  
 of his faith, that ‘ If they accomplished what they  
 ‘ said, he would treat them as faithful men and  
 ‘ friends ; and that they should not be of less  
 ‘ consideration with him than the *Persians*, or *Medes*.’  
 And at this day it may be observed that the *Hyrca-  
 nians* are employed in considerable trusts ; and are  
 possessed of governments, as those of the *Persians*  
 and *Medes* are that appear worthy of them.

WHEN they had supped, he led out the army  
 while it was yet day ; and he ordered the *Hyrca-  
 nians* to stay, that they might go with him. All the  
*Persians*, as one may naturally suppose, were imme-  
 diately out. *Tygranes* likewise with his army was  
 the same. But of the *Medes* some marched out, be-  
 cause while they were yet boys they had been  
 friends to *Cyrus* while a boy ; some because by con-  
 versing with him in his huntings, they were much  
 taken with his temper and manners ; some out of  
 gratitude, because they thought him the man who  
 had relieved them when they were under very great  
 terror ; some, by his appearing already to be a man  
 of great dignity and worth, had hopes that he would  
 still grow farther so as to be prodigiously fortunate  
 and great ; some because they were desirous to re-  
 turn him that friendship and service, that he had  
 done them while he lived among the *Medes* ; for out  
 of his good nature, he had performed several ser-  
 vices with his grandfather for many of them : but  
 most part of them, when they saw the *Hyrceanians*,  
 and that it was discoursed abroad that they were  
 to lead the way to mighty advantages, marched out  
 in order to get something. So almost all the *Medes*  
 marched,



marched, except those that were in the tent with *Cyaxares*. These remained ; and the men that were under their command. The rest hastened out with zeal and pleasure as not going by constraint, but voluntarily, and with design to oblige. When they were out he went to the *Medes*. He first commended them, and prayed, ‘ That the *GODS*, ‘ being propitious both to them, to himself, and to ‘ his people, would vouchsafe to conduct them ! ‘ And then that he himself might be enabled to ‘ make them grateful returns of this their zeal !’ In the last place he told them, that the foot should lead the way, and bid them follow with their horse. —And wherever they rested, or suspended their march, he ordered them to send off some people to him, that they might be informed of what was proper upon every occasion.—Upon this, he ordered the *Hyrceanians* to lead the way ; and they asked him this question, ‘ Why, said they, do not you stay ‘ till we bring our hostages, that you may march ‘ with the pledges of our fidelity in your hands ?’ He is said to have replied thus ; ‘ Why, said he, I ‘ consider that we have all of us pledges of your ‘ fidelity in our own hearts and hands ; for we take ‘ ourselves to be so well provided, that, if you tell ‘ us truth, we are in a condition to do you service ; ‘ and if you deceive us, we reckon that we stand ‘ upon such a foot as not to be ourselves in your ‘ power, but rather, if the gods so please, that you ‘ will be in ours. Since then,’ said he, ‘ O *Hyr- ‘ canians* ! you say that your people march the hin- ‘ dermost, as soon as you see them, signify to us ‘ that they are your people that we may spare them.’ —The *Hyrceanians* hearing these things, led the way as he ordered. They admired his firmness of mind, and were no longer in fear either of the *Assyrians*, the *Lydians* or their allies ; but only, lest *Cyrus* should



should be convinced that whether they were present or absent they were of little significance.

WHILE they were upon the march and night was come on, a clear light from heaven is said to have appeared to *Cyrus*, and to the army ; so that all were seized with a shivering at the divine appearance ; but inspired with boldness against the enemy. As they marched without incumbrance and with dispatch, they probably rid abundance of ground ; and at the dawn of day, they were near the *Hyrceanian* army.—As soon as the messengers discovered them, they told *Cyrus* that these were their people : ‘ They said they knew them by their  
 ‘ being the hindermost and by their multitudes of  
 ‘ fires.’ Upon this, he sent one of the two messengers to them, ordering to tell them, ‘ If they were  
 ‘ friends, immediately to meet him holding out  
 ‘ their right hands.’ He sent some of his own people with them, and bid them tell the *Hyrceanians*,  
 ‘ That when he and his people saw them advancing, they themselves would do the same thing.’ So one of the messengers staid with *Cyrus*, the other rode off to the *Hyrceanians*. While *Cyrus* was observing what the *Hyrceanians* would do, he made the army halt ; and the chief of the *Medes* and *Tygranes* rode up to him and asked him what they were to do ? He told them thus, ‘ This body that is near  
 ‘ us is that of the *Hyrceanians*. One of their messengers is going to them, and some of our people  
 ‘ with him, to tell them, if they are friends, to  
 ‘ meet us with their right hands held out ; therefore if they come in this manner, do you every  
 ‘ one in your several stations receive them with your  
 ‘ right hands as they come, and encourage them.  
 ‘ If they take to their arms, or attempt to fly ; do  
 ‘ you endeavour to let none of these that we first  
 ‘ meet with escape.’ He gave these orders ; and  
 the



the *Hyrceanians* having heard the report of the messengers, were in great joy; and mounting their horses at a leap, came up as was told them with their right hands extended. The *Medes* and *Persians* on their side received them with their right hands, and encouraged them. Upon this *Cyrus* said, ‘*Hyrceanians!* we now trust to you! It is your part to be in the same disposition towards us! But in the first place,’ said he, ‘tell us this; how far from hence is the place where the enemy’s commanders are, and their main body?’ They said in answer, ‘That it was little more than a *parasang.*’

UPON this occasion, *Cyrus* said; ‘Come on then!’ said he, ‘men of *Persia!* *Medes!* and you *Hyrceanians!* for to you I now speak as to confederates and sharers with us in all things. You ought all now to be assured, that we are in such a circumstance, as must bring upon us the greatest severities of fortune, if we act in it remissly and faintly. For the enemy know for what purposes we come. If we march to the enemy with vigour and spirit, and charge home, you will see them, like slaves that have run away and are discovered, some supplicating for mercy, some flying, and some without presence of mind enough to do either. For, beaten as they are, they will see us come upon them, and thinking of our coming will be surprized, without order, and without being prepared to fight. If therefore we desire henceforward to take our meals, to pass our nights, and to spend the rest of our lives with pleasure; do not let us give them leisure to contrive or execute any thing that may be for their own service; nor to know so much as that we are men; but let them fancy that all are shields, swords, cutlasses, and blows that fall upon them. And do you, *Hyrceanians!*’ said he, extending yourselves  
‘ in



‘ in front before us, march first ; that by the ap-  
 ‘ pearance of your arms, we may keep concealed  
 ‘ as long as possible. When I get up with the ene-  
 ‘ my, do you, each of you, leave with me a troop  
 ‘ of horse, that I may make use of them, in case of  
 ‘ need, remaining in the camp ? Do you command-  
 ‘ ers, and your men of most years, if you are wise,  
 ‘ march together in close order, lest, meeting per-  
 ‘ haps with a close body, you be repulsed. Send  
 ‘ out your younger men to pursue ; let these dis-  
 ‘ patch the enemy ; for it is our safest course at  
 ‘ this time to leave as few of the enemy alive as we  
 ‘ can. But lest, what has happened to many vic-  
 ‘ tors, a turn of fortune befall us, we ought strict-  
 ‘ ly to guard against turning to plunder ; and as he  
 ‘ that does it can no longer be reckoned a man, but  
 ‘ a meer bearer of baggage, so any one that will is  
 ‘ free to use him as a slave. You ought to be sen-  
 ‘ sible that there is nothing more gainful than victo-  
 ‘ ry ; for the victor sweeps all away with him, both  
 ‘ men, women, and treasure, together with the  
 ‘ whole country. Keep your eye therefore intent  
 ‘ only upon the preservation of victory, for even the  
 ‘ plunderer himself is comprehended in it. And  
 ‘ remember this too in pursuit, that you return again  
 ‘ to me while it is yet day ; for after it is dark, we  
 ‘ will give admittance to none.’

HAVING said this, he dismissed them, every one  
 to his own century, and ordered them withal to go  
 their ways and signify these things, every one to his  
 chiefs of ten ; for the chiefs of tens were all in  
 front, so as to be able to hear ; and he bid them or-  
 der the chiefs of tens to give these directions, each  
 to his own ten ; upon this, the *Hyrceanians* led the  
 way ; he himself marched with the *Persians* in the  
 center, and formed the horse as usual upon each  
 wing. As soon as his army appeared, some of  
 the



the enemy were astonished at the sight; some already discovered what it was; some told it about; some set up a clamour; some loosed their horses; some packed up their effects; some threw the arms from off the beasts of burthen, and some armed themselves; some mounted their horses; some bridled them; some helped the women up upon the waggon; some laid hold of what they had of greatest value, to save it; and some were found burying such kind of things; but most of them betook themselves to flight. It must needs be thought that they were taken up with these things, and many more of various kinds; excepting only that nobody fought, but that they were destroyed without making any opposition. *Cræsus* the king of the *Lydians*, it being the summer season, had sent away his women in the night in chariots before, that they might travel with the more ease in the cool; and he himself with his horse had followed after. The *Phrygian*, they say, who was prince of that *Phrygia* that lies upon the *Hellespont*, did the same. But as soon as they perceived the runaways, and that some of them came up with them, having got information of what had happened, they fled in the utmost haste. The kings of the *Cappadocians*, and of the *Arabians* that were at hand, and without their corslets, thinking themselves secure, the *Hyrceanians* killed. But the greatest number of those that died upon this occasion were *Assyrians* and *Arabs*; for being in their own country, they were most remiss in marching off. The *Medes* and *Hyrceanians* performed such things in the pursuit, as are usual for men that have gained the victory. But *Cyrus* ordered the horse that had been left with him, to ride round the camp, and kill all such as they saw going off with their arms; and to those that remained he ordered it to be proclaimed, ‘ That all soldiers of the enemy  
‘ whatever, whether horse-men, targeteers, or arch-  
‘ ers,



‘ers, should bring their arms, all bound up together, away to him ; and leave their horses at their tents, and that if any refused to do thus, he should immediately lose his head.’-----Some with their swords drawn, stood round in order ; they who had arms brought them away, and threw them down upon a place that he appointed them ; and they that he ordered for that service, burnt them.

BUT *Cyrus* then reflecting that they were come without either meat or drink ; and that without these it was impossible to carry on a war, or do any thing else ; considering therefore how he might be supplied with these things the soonest, and in the best manner, it came into his mind that it was absolutely necessary for all men that were engaged in military service, to have some certain person to take care of the tent ; and who should provide all things necessary for the soldiers when they came in. He judged therefore that of all people in the camp these were the most likely to be left behind, because of their being employed in packing up the baggage ; So he ordered proclamation to be made that all the officers of this kind should come to him ; and where there was no such officer, that the oldest man of that tent should attend ; he denounced all manner of severity to him that should disobey. But they all paid obedience instantly, having seen their masters do it before them. When they were present he commanded all such as had necessaries in their tents for two months and upwards to sit down. When he had observed these he again commanded all such as were provided for one month to do the same. Upon this almost all of them sat. When he found this, he spoke to them thus. ‘Come then, good people ! all those of you who would avoid evil, and desire to obtain any good from us ! Do you with readiness and zeal take care, that in each tent there be prepared  
‘double



‘ double the portion of meat and drink that you  
‘ used to provide each day for your masters and  
‘ their domestics ; and have all things else ready  
‘ that will contribute to furnish out a handsome  
‘ entertainment ; taking it for granted that the  
‘ party conquering will be presently with you, and  
‘ will require to have all things necessary provided  
‘ for them in plenty. Know therefore that it may  
‘ be of service to you to receive these men in the  
‘ most unexceptionable manner.’ Having heard  
these things, they executed the orders with the  
greatest diligence. And having called the centu-  
rions together, he spoke to this effect.

‘ WE know, friends ! that it is now in our pow-  
‘ er to take our dinners first, before our allies who  
‘ are absent, and to apply the most exquisite meats  
‘ and drinks to your own use : but in my opinion,  
‘ this dinner will not do us so much service as our  
‘ making it appear that we are careful of our allies.  
‘ Nor will this good entertainment add more to our  
‘ own strength, than we shall gain by making our  
‘ confederates zealous and hearty in our interest.  
‘ If we appear so negligent of those that are pur-  
‘ suing and destroying our enemies, and fighting, in  
‘ case there are any that oppose them, that they  
‘ find we have dined before. We know what they  
‘ are doing ; how can it happen otherwise, than  
‘ that we shall appear vile in their fight, and lose  
‘ our strength by losing our allies ? but to be care-  
‘ ful that they who are engaged in fatigues and  
‘ dangers, may have all necessaries ready for them  
‘ when they come in ; This, I say, is the treat  
‘ that should more delight you than the present  
‘ gratification of your bellies. And consider, said  
‘ he, that if we were to act without any respect to  
‘ our friends, yet to cram with meat and drink, is  
‘ not at all proper with regard to ourselves. For  
‘ we have a great many enemies in the camp, loose  
‘ and



‘ and unconfined ; it is our business to be upon our  
 ‘ guard against them, and to keep a guard upon  
 ‘ them, that we may have people to do all things  
 ‘ necessary for us. Our horse are absent, and give  
 ‘ us cause to be in some concern and doubt, where  
 ‘ they are, whether they are to come back to us,  
 ‘ or whether they are to stay. So that in my opi-  
 ‘ nion, friends, the meat and drink the most for  
 ‘ our purpose at present, ought to be, what one  
 ‘ can imagine of most use to preserve us from be-  
 ‘ ing drowsy and remiss.—Yet farther, I know  
 ‘ that there are great treasures in the camp. And  
 ‘ I am not ignorant that it is in our power to ap-  
 ‘ propriate to ourselves what we please of these  
 ‘ things, that belong in common to all that were  
 ‘ jointly concerned with us in taking them : but I  
 ‘ am of opinion that our taking them to ourselves  
 ‘ cannot be a greater gain to us, than by making  
 ‘ ourselves appear to these men to be just and ho-  
 ‘ nest, to purchase by that means still a greater  
 ‘ share in their affection than we have yet obtained.  
 ‘ And I am of opinion, said he, to give up the dis-  
 ‘ tribution of these treasures to the *Medes, Hyrcanians*, and *Tygranes*, when they come : and even  
 ‘ to reckon it an advantage if they allot us the  
 ‘ smallest share. For by means of their profit they  
 ‘ will, with the more pleasure, remain with us.  
 ‘ And the taking a present advantage, may indeed  
 ‘ afford us short-lived riches ; but they that give  
 ‘ up this, acquire by it in return those things from  
 ‘ whence riches flow. And in my opinion, this  
 ‘ may procure much more lasting riches to us and  
 ‘ ours.----It was for this end I think, that we  
 ‘ practised at home that continence and command  
 ‘ over ourselves in the concerns of the belly, and  
 ‘ in matters of unreasonable profit ; that we might  
 ‘ be able, when occasion served, to make use of  
 ‘ these qualities for our advantage. And upon what  
 ‘ greater



‘ greater occasion, than the present one, we can  
‘ shew the virtue of our institution, I do not see.’

THUS he spoke ; and *Hystaspes*, a *Persian*, and one of the alike-honoured, spoke in favour of his opinion in this manner ; ‘ It were indeed a sad case, ‘ *Cyrus*, if, in hunting, we can continually master ‘ ourselves, and abstain from food, in order to get ‘ possession of some beast, and perhaps of very little value ; and when we are in pursuit of all that’s ‘ valuable in the world, we should not think it very unbecoming us to suffer ourselves to be stopped ‘ in our course by any of those things, that have ‘ the command indeed of mean men, but are inferior and subservient to the deserving.’ Thus spoke *Hystaspes* in support of *Cyrus*’s opinion ; the rest approved it. Then *Cyrus* said, ‘ Well then, ‘ since we agree in these matters, do you send out ‘ five men of each company, and such as are the ‘ most diligent and careful ; let these march round ; ‘ and those whom they find employed in providing ‘ the necessaries let them commend : those whom ‘ they find negligent let them chastise, without ‘ sparing them, any more than if they themselves ‘ were their masters.’ These men executed their order.

By this time some of the *Medes* drove up several waggons, that had set out before from the camp, and that they had taken and turned back, loaden with things that the army was in want of. Some of them brought chariots that they had taken, some full of the most considerable women ; who were some of them of the legitimate sort, others of them courtezans that were conveyed up and down by these people upon the account of their beauty. For to this day all the inhabitants of *Asia*, in time of war, attend the service accompanied with what they value the most ; and say that they fight the better when the things that are most dear to them  
are



are present. For they say that they must of necessity defend these with zeal and ardour. Perhaps indeed it is so; but perhaps they do it only to indulge their pleasure.

*CYRUS* observing the the things that were performed by the *Medes* and *Hyrceanians*, was almost angry with himself and with those that were with him; for the others seemed to outshine them at that time, and to be continually making some advantage or other, while they themselves stood quiet in an idle station. For they that brought the prizes, after shewing them to *Cyrus*, rode off again in pursuit of others; for they said that they were ordered so to do by their commanders. *Cyrus*, though nettled at this, yet ordered the things away to a particular station; then calling the centurions again together, and standing in a place where what he said might be heard, he spoke thus;---- ‘ I believe, friends! ‘ We are all convinced that if we ‘ had had the taking of these things that have just ‘ now appeared before us, all the *Persians* in general would have been great gainers, and we probably the greatest who had been personally concerned in the action. But how we who are not able ‘ of ourselves to acquire these things, can possibly ‘ get them into our possession, I do not yet see, unless the *Persians* procure a body of horse of their ‘ own: for you observe said he, that we *Persians* ‘ are possessed of arms that are proper to repel ‘ enemies that will close with us; but when they ‘ are once repulsed, what horsemen, archers, targeteers or dartsmen, while we are without a horse, ‘ can we possibly take or destroy in their flight? ‘ Who would fear to annoy us, whether archers, ‘ dartsmen, or horse, when they know very well ‘ that there’s no more danger of receiving any ‘ hurt from us, than from trees that grow fixed in ‘ the ground? If these things are thus, is it not ‘ plain



plain that the horsemen now with us reckon all things that fall into our hands not less theirs than ours? Nay perhaps even more? Upon this foot therefore do things now necessarily stand. But if we get a body of horse not inferior to themselves, is it not evident to you all that we shall be able, without them, to perform the same things against the enemy that we now do with them? and that we shall have them in a more humble disposition towards us? For when they have a mind either to go or stay, it will be of less concern to us, if we are of ourselves, sufficient without them. But be this as it will, yet no one, I believe, will be of a contrary opinion to me in this, that for the *Persians* to have a body of horse of their own, is not a matter that is entirely indifferent.——

But then perhaps you are considering how this can be brought about.——Supposing then that we incline to constitute a body of horse, let us examine what it is we have, and what it is we want. Here are horses in great number that are left in the camp; and there are bridles to manage them; and all other things that are proper for the use of such as keep horses. And we have likewise the things that are proper for the use of a horseman himself; corselets for the defence of his body, and lances that we may either use in throwing or at hand. What then remains? It is plain we must have men. And these we have more certainly than any thing; for there is nothing so much belongs to us as we do to ourselves.—But perhaps somebody will say, that we do not understand it.—Nor, by *Jove*! have any of those who understand it now, attained the skill before they learned it.——But they learned it, somebody may say, when they were boys.——

And have boys the better faculty to learn things, that are told them, or shewn them, or have men? And when they have once

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‘ learned, which of them have bodies the most  
 ‘ able to undergo labour, boys or men ? Then, we  
 ‘ have that leifure for learning, that neheitr boys  
 ‘ have, nor other men. For we have neither the  
 ‘ use of the bow to learn as boys have ; for we  
 ‘ know it already ; nor throwing of the javelin, for  
 ‘ we know that too ; nor have we that continual  
 ‘ employment that other men have, some in agri-  
 ‘ culture, some in trades, and some in other parti-  
 ‘ cular affairs. We have not only leifure to prac-  
 ‘ tise military affairs, but we are under a necessity  
 ‘ of doing it. Nor is this, as many other military  
 ‘ matters are, a thing of difficulty, as well as of  
 ‘ use ; for is it not pleasanter upon the road to be on  
 ‘ horseback, than to travel on foot ? and where dis-  
 ‘ patch is required is it not a pleasure, to get quickly  
 ‘ to a friend, when there is occasion ? or readily to  
 ‘ overtake either a man or a beast in the pursuit ?  
 ‘ And is it not a convenience, that whatever arms  
 ‘ are proper to be carried, the horse helps to carry  
 ‘ them ? For to have arms and to carry them is the  
 ‘ same thing. And as to what one may have most  
 ‘ reason to fear, that we may perhaps be obliged to  
 ‘ come to action on horseback, before we are yet  
 ‘ well skilled in the work ; and that we may  
 ‘ become neither able footmen, nor able horsemen ;  
 ‘ even this is not a difficulty that is unconquerable.  
 ‘ For whenever we please, we are immediately at  
 ‘ liberty to fight on foot ; nor shall we unlearn any  
 ‘ thing of our skill as footmen by learning to ride.

Thus *Cyrus* spoke ; and *Chryfantas* speaking in  
 favour of the same opinion, said thus ; ‘ I am,  
 ‘ said he, so desirous of learning to ride, that I  
 ‘ reckon, were I a horseman, I should be a flying  
 ‘ man. As matters now stand, were I to run a  
 ‘ race with a man, I should be contented if I got  
 ‘ but by the head before him ; or if I saw a beast  
 ‘ running by, I would be contented, if upon the  
 ‘ stretch,



‘ stretch, I could contrive to reach him with my  
‘ bow or javelin before he got at a distance from  
‘ me. But if I become a horseman, I shall be able  
‘ to kill any man though at as great a distance as I  
‘ can see; and in the pursuit of beasts, some I  
‘ shall be able to come up with and to strike them  
‘ at hand, others I shall be able to reach with my  
‘ javelin, as well as if they stood still; for if two  
‘ creatures are swift alike, they continue as near to  
‘ each other as if they stood still. Of all creatures,  
‘ they, that, I think, raise my envy and emulation  
‘ the most, are the centaurs; if there were ever  
‘ any. Creatures that with the understanding of  
‘ man, are capable of contrivance and forecast;  
‘ who with their hands can effect what is proper to  
‘ be done; and have the swiftness and strength of  
‘ the horse, so as to overtake what flies them, and  
‘ overturn what opposes them. So, when I am a  
‘ horseman, all these powers do I carry with me.  
‘ I shall be able to contrive things with my under-  
‘ standing, as a man; my arms I shall carry in my  
‘ hands; with my horse I shall pursue; and by my  
‘ horse’s strength overturn what opposes me. But  
‘ then I shall not be bound down and grow to him,  
‘ like the centaurs; and this is certainly better  
‘ than to be incorporated with him. For centaurs,  
‘ I fancy, must be at a loss how to use several con-  
‘ veniencies discovered by men; and how to enjoy  
‘ several pleasures natural to horses. But I, when  
‘ I have learned to ride, and am mounted on horse-  
‘ back, shall perform the part of a centaur; and  
‘ when I dismount, I shall take my meals, cloath  
‘ myself, and take my rest, as other men do. So  
‘ that what am I but a centaur, free and sepa-  
‘ rable when I please; and then, when I please, of  
‘ a piece again? Besides, I have this advantage of  
‘ the centaur, said he, that he saw but with two  
‘ eyes, and heard but with two ears; but I shall see



‘ with four eyes, and receive notice of things by  
 ‘ means of four ears. For the horse, they say, dis-  
 ‘ covers to men many things that he before-hand  
 ‘ sees with his own eyes ; and gives them notice of  
 ‘ many things that he beforehand hears with his  
 ‘ own ears. Write me down therefore, as one of  
 ‘ those that are desirous to serve on horseback.’——  
 ‘ And us too, said all the others,’——Upon this  
*Cyrus*, said ; ‘ Since then, said he, we are so much  
 ‘ of this opinion ; what if we should make it a law,  
 ‘ that it should be scandalous, for any of those  
 ‘ amongst us, that I furnish with horses, to be seen  
 ‘ travelling on foot, let the way he is to go be little  
 ‘ or great ; that men may imagine we are entirely  
 ‘ centaurs ?——This proposal he made them ; and  
 they all gave their consent. So that at this day  
 the *Persians* still put it in practice ; and none of the  
 considerable men among the *Persians* are ever to be  
 seen travelling on foot of their own good will.

THESE men were employed in these discourses.  
 But when the middle of the day was past, the *Me-  
 dian* horse and the *Hyrceanians* rode up and brought  
 with them both horses and men that they had taken.  
 For as many as delivered their arms they did not  
 kill. When they rode up, *Cyrus* first asked them,  
 whether they were all come safe ? When they said  
 they were ; he then asked what they had done ?  
 And they related the things that they had perform-  
 ed ; and gave magnificent accounts how manfully,  
 they had acted in every particular. He hearkened  
 with pleasure to all that they had a mind to tell him ;  
 and then commended them thus ; ‘ It is apparent,  
 ‘ how well you have behaved, for you are now in  
 ‘ appearance taller, and more beautiful, and more  
 ‘ terrible than before !’ He then asked them,  
 ‘ How far they had gone ; and whether the coun-  
 ‘ try was inhabited ?’ They told him, ‘ They had  
 ‘ gone a great way ; that the whole country was  
 ‘ inhabited,



‘ inhabited, and full of sheep, goats, oxen and  
‘ horses, corn, and all valuable things.’ There are  
‘ two things then, said he, that we are to take care  
‘ of; how to subject the people that are the posses-  
‘ sors of these things; and how to make them re-  
‘ main upon the place. For a country well inha-  
‘ bited is a very valuable acquisition; but one  
‘ destitute of men is destitute of every thing that  
‘ is good. All those that stood to their defence,  
‘ said he, I know you have killed; and you did  
‘ right: for this is of the greatest importance for  
‘ the maintaining of a victory. Those that deliver-  
‘ ed their arms you have taken. And if we dis-  
‘ miss them, we should do what, I say, would turn  
‘ to our advantage: for, first we shall not be un-  
‘ der a necessity of being upon our guard against  
‘ them; nor of keeping a guard upon them; nor  
‘ of furnishing them with provisions, for certainly  
‘ we should not be for starving them: Then by  
‘ dismissing them, we shall have the greater number  
‘ of captives; for, if we conquer the country,  
‘ all will be our captives, that inhabit it; and the  
‘ rest, when they see these living and set at liberty,  
‘ will the more readily remain, and rather chuse to  
‘ submit than to continue in war. ——— This is  
‘ my judgment; but if any other person sees what  
‘ is better, let him say it. ——— But they, having  
heard these things agreed to act accordingly.

So *Cyrus*, having called for the prisoners, spoke thus. ‘ Friends!’ said he, ‘ by your present sub-  
‘ mission, you have preserved your lives. And for  
‘ the future, if you behave in the same manner, no  
‘ ill whatever shall befall you, unless it be that the  
‘ same person will not govern you, that governed  
‘ you before: but you shall inhabit the same  
‘ houses; and you shall cultivate the same territo-  
‘ ry; and you shall live with the same wives; and  
‘ you shall rule your children as you do now; but



‘ you shall neither make war upon us, nor upon  
 ‘ any one else; and if any other injure you, we will  
 ‘ fight for you. And that no body may order you  
 ‘ out upon military service, bring your arms to us.  
 ‘ And to those that bring them, peace, and what I  
 ‘ promise shall be made good to them without fraud.  
 ‘ But we will make war upon those that refuse to  
 ‘ lay their arms aside. But then if any of you shall  
 ‘ come to us, and shall appear to do any action, or  
 ‘ to give any information, in friendship and good  
 ‘ will to us; him will we treat as a benefactor and  
 ‘ a friend, not as a slave. Let these things there-  
 ‘ fore be known to you; and do you tell them to  
 ‘ the rest. And if there are any that will not com-  
 ‘ ply with us in these things that we require, do  
 ‘ you lead us the way to them, that we may make  
 ‘ ourselves masters of them, and they not masters  
 ‘ of us.’ Thus he spoke.—They paid him their  
 adoration, and said that they would perform what  
 he enjoined them.

WHEN they were gone, *Cyrus* said, ‘ It is time,  
 ‘ O *Medes*, and *Armenians*! for all of us to take  
 ‘ our suppers. And all things proper have been  
 ‘ made ready for you in the best manner that we  
 ‘ were able. Go your ways then, and send us half  
 ‘ the bread that has been made; for there has  
 ‘ enough been made for us both; but send us nei-  
 ‘ ther meat with it, nor any thing to drink; for of  
 ‘ these we have enough with us already provided.  
 ‘ And do you,’ said he, ‘ O *Hyrceanians*! conduct  
 ‘ them to the tents; the commanders to the great-  
 ‘ est (for you know which they are) and the others  
 ‘ as you think most proper. And do you likewise  
 ‘ take your suppers, where it is most agreeable to  
 ‘ you; for the tents are untouched, and all things  
 ‘ are provided there for you as well as for the others.  
 ‘ But let this be known to you both, that we under-  
 ‘ take



‘ take to keep the night watch without. Do you look  
‘ to what passes in the tents, and place your arms  
‘ within ; for they who are in the tents, are not  
‘ yet our friends.’

THE *Medes* then and *Tygranes*’s people bathed themselves ; (for all matters for that purpose had been provided) and having changed their cloaths, took their suppers. And their horses were provided with all necessaries. Half their bread they sent to the *Persians* ; but sent no meat with it, nor wine ; thinking that *Cyrus*’s people were provided with those things, because he had said that they had them in plenty. But what *Cyrus* meant, was, that the meat they had with their bread was hunger, and their drink was the water of a stream that ran by. *Cyrus* therefore having given the *Persians* their supper, sent many of them out as soon as it was dark in fives and tens, and commanded them to march round the camp privately ; judging that they would be a guard to it, if any enemy came upon them from without ; and that if any one ran off with treasure of any kind they might take him. And it happened so ; for there were many that ran away ; and many were taken. *Cyrus* allowed the treasures to those that seized them ; but ordered them to kill the men. So that afterwards, even though one desired it, one could not easily meet with a man that was going any where in the night. And thus the *Persians* employed themselves. But the *Medes* drank and feasted, entertained themselves with the music of flutes, and indulged themselves in all kinds of delight and pleasure ; for a multitude of things of that sort had been taken. So that they who were upon the watch, were in no want of work.

BUT *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, that night that *Cyrus* marched away, was drunk himself, as well as



those that were of his company in the tent ; it being upon an occasion of happy success. And he thought that the rest of the *Medes*, excepting only some few, were still remaining in the camp, because he heard a mighty noise and uproar. For the servants of the *Medes*, upon their masters being gone, drank without ceasing and were very tumultuous: and the more because they had taken from the *Assyrian* army great quantities of wine, and abundance of other such things. As soon as the day came, and that no body attended at his doors but they that had supped with him ; and that he heard that the camp was left empty by the *Medes* and by their horse ; and that he himself, when he went out, saw that this was really the case ; he then broke out into a rage at their going away and leaving him destitute. And as he is said to have been very violent and rash, he immediately commanded one of those about him to take some horse with him, and march with the utmost dispatch to the army that was with *Cyrus*, and to say thus.—‘ I was of opinion, *Cyrus* ! that even  
‘ you would not have engaged in councils, so im-  
‘ prudent and ill for me ; or if *Cyrus* might have  
‘ thought fit to do so, I did not think that you  
‘ *Medes*, would have consented to leave me thus  
‘ destitute. Now therefore, whether *Cyrus* will or  
‘ will not, do you come away to me with the ut-  
‘ most dispatch.’——This message he sent them ; but he that received these orders to march, said ;—  
‘ But how, O sovereign ! shall I be able to find  
‘ them ?’ ‘ And how should *Cyrus*,’ said he, ‘ find  
‘ those that he marched after ?’ ‘ Truly because,’ said he, ‘ as I hear, certain *Hyrcanians*, who belong-  
‘ ed to the enemy, and who had revolted and came  
‘ thither, went and led them the way.’ *Cyaxares* hearing this, was in a much greater rage at *Cyrus* for not having told it him ; and he sent in much  
more



more haste to the *Medes*, that he might strip him of his forces ; he ordered them back with more vehemence than before, and with threats. The messenger likewise he threatened in case he did not discharge himself with vigour in the delivery of his message.

THE person that was thus sent, marched with about a hundred of his own horse, and was grieved that he himself had not gone with *Cyrus*. As they proceeded in their march, the roads dividing, they lost their way in a beaten track ; and could not get to *Cyrus's* army, till meeting with some *Assyrians* that were retiring, they forced them to be their guides ; and by this means getting sight of their fires they got up with them about midnight. When they were got to the army, the guards, as was ordered them by *Cyrus*, did not admit them before day.

AND when day appeared, *Cyrus* calling to him the *Mages*, commanded them to choose out what was due to the Gods, upon the occasion of such advantages as they had obtained. These men employed themselves accordingly.—He having summoned the alike-honoured spoke to them thus. ‘ My friends !  
‘ God is pleased to lay many advantages before us ;  
‘ but we, O *Persians* ! are at present but few in  
‘ number to secure to ourselves the possession of  
‘ them. For the things that we have already gain-  
‘ ed, unless we secure them by a guard, will fall  
‘ again into the power of others ; and if we leave  
‘ some of ourselves as guards to secure the things  
‘ that are already in our power, we shall immedi-  
‘ ately be found to have no manner of strength re-  
‘ maining,—My opinion is therefore, that some  
‘ one among you should go as soon possible to the  
‘ *Persians* ; acquaint them with what I say ; and bid  
‘ them send an army as soon as possibly they can, if  
the



‘ the *Persians* desire that the dominion of *Asia* and  
 ‘ the revenues that arise from it should’ belong to  
 ‘ them.——Go therefore,’ said he, ‘ you who  
 ‘ are the oldest man! and when you arrive say  
 ‘ thus; That whatever soldiers they send, when  
 ‘ they come to me it shall be my care to maintain.  
 ‘ You see all the advantages that we have gained;  
 ‘ conceal no part of them. What part of these  
 ‘ things it will be handsome and just for me to send  
 ‘ to the gods, ask of my father; what to the pub-  
 ‘ lic, ask of the magistrates. Let them send peo-  
 ‘ ple to see what we do, and to acquaint them with  
 ‘ what we desire from them.——Do you,’ said  
 he, ‘ make yourself ready, and take your company  
 ‘ to attend you.’

AFTER this, he called the *Medes*, and with them  
*Cyaxares*’s messenger appeared, and before all de-  
 clared *Cyaxares*’s anger to *Cyrus*, and his threats to  
 the *Medes*; and in conclusion said; ‘ That he com-  
 ‘ manded the *Medes* to come away though *Cyrus*  
 ‘ should incline to stay.’ The *Medes* upon hearing  
 the messenger, were silent; not knowing how they  
 should disobey his summons; and yet in fear how  
 they should yield obedience to him upon his  
 threats; especially, knowing the violence of the  
 man. But *Cyrus* then spoke; ‘ I do not at all won-  
 ‘ der,’ said he, O messenger! and you *Medes*! that  
 ‘ *Cyaxares* who had then seen a multitude of ene-  
 ‘ mies, and knew not what we were doing, should  
 ‘ be under concern both for us and for himself.  
 ‘ But when he knows that a great many of the ene-  
 ‘ my are destroyed, and that they are all driven  
 ‘ away before us, he will first cease to fear; and  
 ‘ will then be convinced that he is not destitute at  
 ‘ this time, when his friends are destroying his ene-  
 ‘ mies. But how is it possible that we can deserve  
 ‘ reproach for doing him service? and that not of  
 our



‘ our own heads neither ? for I prevailed with him  
to allow me to march ; and to take you with me.  
‘ It was not you that from any desire of your own  
‘ to march begged his leave to do it, and so came  
‘ hither ; but it was upon orders from himself to  
‘ go, given to every one of you that was not averse  
‘ to it. I am therefore very well satisfied that this  
‘ anger of his will be allayed by our successes, and  
‘ when his fear ceases will quite vanish. Now  
‘ therefore, do you, messenger, take a little rest,  
‘ since you have undergone a great deal of fatigue.  
‘ Let us, O *Persians* ! since we expect the enemy  
‘ to be with us either to fight, or to submit them-  
‘ selves, keep ourselves in the best order ; for while  
‘ we are observed to be so, it is probable we shall  
‘ succeed the better, in what we desire. And do  
‘ you,’ said he, ‘ prince of the *Hyrceanians* ! attend  
‘ here, after you have commanded the leaders of  
‘ your men to call them to arms.

WHEN the *Hyrceanian* had done this, and came  
to him, *Cyrus* said,-----‘ It is a pleasure to me,  
‘ O *Hyrceanian*, not only to perceive that you attend  
‘ here after having given us marks of your friend-  
‘ ship ; but that you appear to me to be a man of  
‘ great ability. It is evident that the same things  
‘ are now alike advantageous to us both. For the  
‘ *Assyrians* are enemies to me ; and are now more  
‘ at enmity with you than with myself. We must  
‘ both of us therefore consult how to prevent any of  
‘ our allies that are at present with us, from falling  
‘ off from us, and if we can how to acquire others.  
‘ You have heard the *Mede* deliver his orders to re-  
‘ call their cavalry. ‘ If they leave us, how can we,  
‘ that are foot, remain alone ? You and I there-  
‘ fore must contrive, that this messenger, who re-  
‘ calls them, shall himself desire to stay with us.  
‘ Do you therefore seek out for him and give him  
‘ a tent where he may pass his time in the hand-  
‘ somest



‘ someſt manner, and with all things convenient  
 ‘ about him. I will endeavour to employ him up-  
 ‘ on ſome buſineſs, that will be more agreeable to  
 ‘ him to do, than it will be to leave us. Do you  
 ‘ diſcourſe him upon the many advantages we hope  
 ‘ all our friends will make, in caſe we are well ſup-  
 ‘ plied with every thing neceſſary. And when you  
 ‘ have done this, come again to me.’——The  
*Hyrceanian* went and conducted the *Mede* to a tent.

AND he that was going to the *Persians* attended ready prepared. *Cyrus* directed him to tell the *Persians* the things he had before mentioned in his diſcourſe to him; and to deliver *Cyaxares* a letter.——‘ But,’ ſaid he, ‘ I have a mind to read you  
 ‘ what I write, that, being apprized of the matter,  
 ‘ you may own it if any body aſk you about it.’——The contents of the letter were thus.

## CYRUS to CYAXARES.

‘ JOY and Happineſs!——We have neither  
 ‘ left you deſtitute; (for no body while they  
 ‘ conquer their enemies can be deſtitute of friends)  
 ‘ Nor, when we left you, did we imagine that we  
 ‘ brought you into danger; but at the greater diſ-  
 ‘ tance we were from you, ſo much the more ſecu-  
 ‘ rity did we reckon we procured you: For, they  
 ‘ that ſit themſelves down the neareſt to their  
 ‘ friends are not the men that beſt afford their  
 ‘ friends ſecurity; but they that drive their ene-  
 ‘ mies at the greateſt diſtance, are the men that put  
 ‘ their friends the moſt out of danger.—Conſider  
 ‘ then what your conduct has been to me, in return  
 ‘ of what mine has been to you, that you can yet  
 ‘ blame me. I brought you friends and allies; not  
 ‘ as many as you could perſuade, but as many as I  
 ‘ was able. You gave me while I was yet upon  
 ‘ friendly



‘ friendly ground, as many as I could persuade to  
‘ follow me; and now that I am in the enemy’s  
‘ territory, you recall not every one that is willing  
‘ to be gone, but all. At that time therefore I  
‘ thought myself obliged both to yourself and them.  
‘ But now you force me to leave you out, and to  
‘ endeavour to make all my returns of gratitude  
‘ and thanks to those that followed me. And yet  
‘ I cannot act like you; but am now sending to the  
‘ *Persians* for an army, and give orders that what-  
‘ ever numbers are sent me, if you should be in  
‘ any want of them before they reach us, you are  
‘ free to use them, not according to their liking,  
‘ but as you yourself please. And though I am the  
‘ younger man---- yet I advise you not to take  
‘ away what you have once given, lest you meet  
‘ with ill-will, instead of thanks; and when you  
‘ would have any one to come quickly to you, not  
‘ to send for him with threats; and when you talk  
‘ of being destitute, not to threaten a multitude  
‘ lest you teach them not to mind you.—We  
‘ will endeavour to attend you, as soon as we have  
‘ effected the things that we judge to be of advan-  
‘ tage both to you and us.—Health attend  
‘ you.’

‘ DELIVER him this letter, and whatever he  
‘ asks you upon the subject of these affairs, do you  
‘ answer conformably to what is here written. For  
‘ with respect to the *Persians* I give you such orders  
‘ as are expressed in the letter.’—Having said  
thus to him, and given him the letter, he dismissed  
him; enjoining him withal to use diligence; as  
taking it for granted, that it would be of great ad-  
vantage to him to be quickly back again.

AFTER this, he observed all the *Hyrceanians* and  
*Tygranes*’s men already armed, and the *Persians* were  
likewise armed. At which time some of the neigh-  
bouring



bouring people brought in horses and arms. Such  
 of the javelins as they were not themselves in want  
 of, he ordered them to throw upon the place, where  
 he had ordered others before; and those, whose bu-  
 siness it was, he ordered to burn them. But he  
 commanded those who brought the horses to stay  
 and look to them, 'till he signified his intentions to  
 them. Then calling to him the commanders of the  
 horse, and those of the *Hyrceanians*, he spoke in this  
 manner.—‘ My friends and allies! do not wonder,’  
 said he, ‘ that I call you frequently together; for  
 ‘ our present circumstances are new to us; many  
 ‘ things are yet in disorder; and things that are in  
 ‘ disorder must of necessity give us trouble till they  
 ‘ are settled in their proper places. We have now  
 ‘ in our power many treasures, as well as men cap-  
 ‘ tive; and by our not knowing which of these be-  
 ‘ long to each of us, and by their not knowing who  
 ‘ is to each of them severally master, there are not  
 ‘ many of them that we see performing their pro-  
 ‘ per parts; but almost all of them are at a loss  
 ‘ what to do. That things therefore may not con-  
 ‘ tinue thus, do you distribute them. Whoever is  
 ‘ in possession of a tent fully supplied with provisi-  
 ‘ ons of meat and drink, with servants, carpets,  
 ‘ and apparel, and with all other things that a tent  
 ‘ well accomodated for military service is furnished  
 ‘ with; here, there is nothing further necessary than  
 ‘ that the possessor should understand that it is his  
 ‘ part to take care of these things as his own pro-  
 ‘ perty. But, where any one is possessed of a tent  
 ‘ where those things are wanting, after you have dis-  
 ‘ covered it upon examination, do you supply what  
 ‘ falls short. For I know there will be of many  
 ‘ things more than enough; because the enemy was  
 ‘ possessed of every thing in greater proportion than  
 ‘ suits our numbers. Besides there have been with  
 ‘ me certain stewards, belonging to the *Assyrian*  
 ‘ king



‘ king and their other great men, who have told  
‘ me that they had by them sums of gold in coin,  
‘ arising, as they said, from certain tributary pay-  
‘ ments. Make proclamation therefore that these  
‘ things be brought to you where you sit. And  
‘ denounce terror and punishments to whosoever  
‘ does not execute what you command them. Do  
‘ you receive these things, and distribute them: to  
‘ the horsemen, double payments; to the foot, sin-  
‘ gle; that in case you want any thing you may have  
‘ wherewithal to buy. And have it presently pro-  
‘ claimed that no body injure the camp-market;  
‘ but that the sutlers and tradesmen sell what each  
‘ of them has for sale; and when they have dis-  
‘ posed of these that they fetch more; that the  
‘ camp may be supplied.’

THEY immediately had these things proclaimed. But the *Medes* and *Hyrceanians* spoke in this manner: ‘ And how can we?’ said they, ‘ distribute these things, without you and your people?’ *Cyrus* to this question replied thus; ‘ Is this then, friends,’ said he, ‘ your opinion, that, whatever is to be done we must all of us attend upon it? And shall not I be thought sufficient by you to transact any thing for you that may be proper, nor you sufficient to transact for us? By what other means can we possibly create ourselves more trouble, and do less business than by acting thus? But you see,’ said he, ‘ that we have been the guards that have kept these things for you; and you have reposed a confidence in us, that they have been well and faithfully guarded. Do you on the other side distribute these things; and we will repose a confidence in you that they have been well and justly distributed. And upon other occasions we will endeavour to perform some other public service.—And now in the first place,  
‘ you



‘ you observe, how many horses we have at pre-  
 ‘ sent, and that others are continually bringing to  
 ‘ us: If we leave these without riders, they will  
 ‘ be of no manner of use to us, and will give us  
 ‘ trouble to take care of them. But if we set  
 ‘ horsemen upon them, we shall be freed from the  
 ‘ trouble, and shall add to our strength. If you  
 ‘ have others that you would give them to, with  
 ‘ whom it would be more pleasing to you to act  
 ‘ with upon any occasion in war, than with us;  
 ‘ give them the horses. But if you would rather  
 ‘ have us for supports and assistants, give them to  
 ‘ us. For when you pushed on before us in the  
 ‘ late service without us, you put us under great  
 ‘ apprehension, least you should come by some  
 ‘ misfortune; and you made us ashamed that we  
 ‘ were not at hand wherever you were. But if we  
 ‘ once get horses, we will follow you; and if it be  
 ‘ thought of most service to engage on horseback  
 ‘ in concert with you, we shall lose nothing of our  
 ‘ ardour and zeal; but if it be thought most proper  
 ‘ to support you on foot, then to alight will be ob-  
 ‘ vious and easy to us; we shall be ready at your  
 ‘ hands on foot; and will contrive to find people to  
 ‘ deliver our horses to.’

Thus he spoke: and they replied; ‘ We have  
 ‘ neither men to mount upon the horses, nor, if we  
 ‘ had, would we come to any other determination,  
 ‘ since you would have it thus. Take then, said  
 ‘ they, the horses, and do as you think best.’ ‘ I  
 ‘ receive them,’ said he, ‘ and may good fortune  
 ‘ attend upon our becoming horsemen!—Do you  
 ‘ divide the things that are in common. But first  
 ‘ take out for the *GODS* whatever the *Mages*  
 ‘ shall direct: and then take such things for *Cyax-*  
 ‘ *ares* as you think most acceptable to him.’ They  
 laughed, and said, ‘ That beautiful women, then,  
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‘ were what should be chosen for him.’ ‘ Chuse  
‘ women then,’ said he, ‘ and whatever else you  
‘ think proper : And when you have chosen for  
‘ him, then do you, *Hyrceanians*, do all you can to  
‘ give entire content to all these men that have vo-  
‘ luntarily followed me. And you, O *Medes*, re-  
‘ ward these our first allies in such a manner, as  
‘ may convince them that they took a right resolu-  
‘ tion when they became our friends. And out of  
‘ the whole give a share to the messenger that is  
‘ come from *Cyaxares*, both to himself, and the men  
‘ that are with him, and exhort him to stay with  
‘ us, as being my opinion jointly with yours, that  
‘ by means of his being better informed of every  
‘ particular, he may represent to *Cyaxares* a full  
‘ state of things. For the *Persians*,’ said he, ‘ that  
‘ are with me, let what remains over and above,  
‘ after you are all well provided for, be sufficient.  
‘ For,’ said he, ‘ we have not been brought up in  
‘ a nice delicate way ; but in a coarse rustick  
‘ manner. So that perhaps you may laugh at us,  
‘ if there should happen to be any thing fine and  
‘ magnificent left for our share. As I know very  
‘ well.’ said he, ‘ we shall give you a great deal of  
‘ laughter and diversion, when we are set on horse-  
‘ back : and so we shall do I believe,’ said he, ‘ when  
‘ we are thrown from off our horses to the ground.’  
——Upon this they went their ways to the distri-  
bution, laughing heartily at this new body of  
horse.

BUT he calling the centurions to him, ordered  
them to take the horses, the horse-furniture, and  
the men that were to take care of them ; and after  
having numbered them and drawn lots by centuries,  
to take each of them a like number. *Cyrus* himself  
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‘ ever slave there might be either in the *Assyrian*,  
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‘ *Syrian*, or *Arabian* armies, whether he were *Mede*,  
 ‘ *Persian*, *Bactrian*, *Carian*, *Cilician*, or *Greek*, or  
 ‘ of any other country, forced to serve, that he  
 ‘ should appear.’ These men hearing the proclamation, appeared joyfully before him in great numbers. And he, having chosen from amongst them the most personable and fightly men, told them that they should now become free; and bear such arms as he would give them. To supply them with all necessaries,’ he said, ‘ should be his care. And bringing them immediately to the centurions, he put them under their care; and commanded them to give them shields and a smaller sort of swords, that being thus equipped they might attend the horse; that they should take all necessaries for these men as well as for the *Persians* that were with him; that they themselves with their corselets and lances should always march on horseback; and he began it himself, and that over the foot of the alike-honoured, they should each of them, out of the number of the alike-honoured, appoint a commander in his own stead. In these affairs were these men employed.

MEANWHILE, *Gobrias* an *Assyrian* and a man in years, arrived on horseback; attended by some cavalry, consisting of his own departments; and they were all provided with arms proper for horse. They that had been appointed to receive the arms bid them deliver their lances, that they might burn them as they had done others before; but *Gobrias* said, that he desired first to see *Cyrus*. Then they that attended this service left the other horsemen behind, and conducted *Gobrias* to *Cyrus*. And as soon as he saw *Cyrus* he spoke thus. ‘ My sovereign lord! I am by birth an *Assyrian*; I have a  
 ‘ strong fortress in possession; and have the com-  
 ‘ mand of a large territory. I furnished the *Assy-*  
‘ *rian*



‘ *rian* king with a thousand horse ; and was very  
‘ much his friend. But since he, who was an ex-  
‘ cellent man, has lost his life in the war against  
‘ you, and that his son who is my greatest enemy  
‘ now possesses the government, I come and throw  
‘ myself at your feet as a suppliant ! and give my-  
‘ self to you as a servant and assistant in the war !  
‘ I beg you to be my revenger ! I make you my  
‘ son as far as it is possible. With respect to male  
‘ issue I am childless ; for he, O sovereign ! that was  
‘ my only one, an excellent youth ! who loved and  
‘ honoured me to as great a degree as a son could  
‘ do to make a father happy ! him——did the  
‘ present king (the late king, the father of the  
‘ present, having sent for my son, as intending to  
‘ give him his daughter, and I sent him away, proud  
‘ that I should see my son married to the daughter  
‘ of the king) him——did the present king invite to  
‘ hunt with him as with a friend. And upon a  
‘ bear appearing in view, they both pursued. The  
‘ present king having thrown his javelin, missed his  
‘ aim ! ——O ! that it had not happened so ! —  
‘ And my son making his throw, ----- unhappy  
‘ thing !----brought the bear to the ground ! He  
‘ was then enraged, but kept his envy concealed.  
‘ But then again a lion falling in their way, he  
‘ again missed ; and that it should happen so to him  
‘ I do not think at all wonderful ; but my son  
‘ again hitting his mark, killed the lion ; and said  
‘ I have twice thrown single javelins and brought  
‘ the beasts both times to the ground. Upon this,  
‘ the impious wretch contained his malice no long-  
‘ er ! but snatching a lance from one of his fol-  
‘ lowers, struck it into his breast, and took away  
‘ the life of my dear and only son ! Then I, mise-  
‘ rable man ! brought him away a corpse, instead  
‘ of a bridegroom ! and I, who am of these years,  
‘ buried him, my excellent and beloved son, a  
N 2 youth



‘ youth but juſt bearded !-----His murderer, as if  
 ‘ he had deſtroyed an enemy, has never yet appear-  
 ‘ ed to have any remorse ; nor has he in amends,  
 ‘ for the vile action, ever vouchſafed to pay any  
 ‘ honour to him who is now under the ground !  
 ‘ His father indeed had compaſſion, and plainly  
 ‘ appeared to join in affliction with me at this my  
 ‘ miſfortune ! Therefore had he lived, I had never  
 ‘ applied to his prejudice ; for I had received a  
 ‘ great many inſtances of friendship from him, and  
 ‘ I ſerved him. But ſince the government is fal-  
 ‘ len to the murderer of my ſon, I can never poſſibly  
 ‘ bear him the leaſt good-will ; nor can he, I know  
 ‘ very well, ever reckon me his friend ; for he  
 ‘ knows how I ſtand affected towards him, how I,  
 ‘ who lived with that joy and ſatisfaction before,  
 ‘ muſt now ſtand in this deſtitute condition, paſſing  
 ‘ my old age in ſorrow ! If you receive me there-  
 ‘ fore, and that I can have the hopes of obtaining  
 ‘ by your means a revenge for my dear ſon, I ſhall  
 ‘ think I ariſe again to new life ! I ſhall neither be  
 ‘ aſhamed to live, nor, if I die, do I think that I  
 ‘ ſhall end my days with grief !’.

Thus he ſpoke. And *Cyrus* replied ; ‘ If you  
 ‘ make it appear, *Gobrias* ! that you really are in  
 ‘ that diſpoſition towards us that you expreſs : I  
 ‘ receive you as our ſuppliant, and with the help  
 ‘ of the gods, I promiſe to revenge you on the  
 ‘ murderer : But tell me, ſaid he, if we effect  
 ‘ theſe things for you, and allow you to hold your  
 ‘ fortrefs, your territory, and your arms, and the  
 ‘ power that you had before ; what ſervice will you  
 ‘ do for us in return of theſe things ?’ He then ſaid,  
 ‘ My fortrefs I will yield you for your habitation  
 ‘ whenever you pleaſe ; the ſame tribute for my  
 ‘ territory that I uſed to pay to him, I will pay to  
 ‘ you ; wherever you will make war I will attend  
 ‘ you in the ſervice with the forces of my territo-  
 ry :



‘ry : and I have besides, said he, a maiden daughter, that I tenderly love, just of an age for marriage ; one that I formerly reckoned I brought up as a wife for the person now reigning ; but she herself has now begged me, with many tears and sighs, not to give her to the murderer of her brother ! And I join with her in opinion : I here give you leave to deal with her as I appear to deal by you.’ Then *Cyrus* said, ‘ Upon these terms, said he, with truth and sincerity do I give you my right hand and accept of yours. Let the gods be witnesses between us.’ When these things had past, he bid *Gobrias* go, and keep his arms. And he asked him at what distance his habitation was ? it being his intention to go thither. He then said, ‘ If you march to-morrow morning you may quarter with us the next day.’ So *Gobrias* went away, and left a guide.

THE *Medes* then came, after having delivered to the *Mages* such things as they had said were to be chosen for the gods. And they had chosen for *Cyrus* a most beautiful tent, a *Susian* woman that was said to have been the most beautiful woman in all *Asia*, and two other women that were the finest fingers. And they chose the same things over again for *Cyaxares*. They had fully supplied themselves with all such things as they wanted, that they might be in want of nothing, in the course of their service in the war ; for there were all things in great abundance. The *Hyrceanians* took likewise whatever they wanted ; and they made *Cyaxares*’s messenger an equal sharer with them. As many tents as were remaining over and above they gave to *Cyrus*, that the *Persians* might have them. The money they said they would divide as soon as it was collected ; and they divided it accordingly. These things did these men do and say. But *Cyrus* ordered such men to take and keep the things that belonged to *Cyaxa-*



res, as he knew to be most intimate with him,  
' And all that you give me, said he, I accept with  
' pleasure ; but he among you, said he, that is the  
' most in want of them, shall have the use of them.'  
A certain *Mede*, who was a lover of music, then  
said ; ' In the evening, *Cyrus*, I heard those fingers  
' that you now have ; and I heard them with  
' pleasure. If you will give me one of them,  
' I believe it will be a greater pleasure to me to at-  
' tend the service of the war than to stay at home.'  
Then *Cyrus* said, ' I give her you, and I think my-  
' self more obliged to you for asking her of me,  
' than you are to me for having her ; so very desi-  
' rous am I to please you all.' So then he asked  
for this woman and took her.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.





52  
*CYROPÆDIA:*

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

*CYRUS.*

---

By *XENOPHON.*

---

Translated from the GREEK

By the late

Honourable MAURICE ASHLEY, Esq;

---

To which is prefixed,

A Preface, by way of Dedication, to the Right  
Honourable the Lady ELIZABETH HARRIS.

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V O L. II.

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The FOURTH EDITION, corrected.

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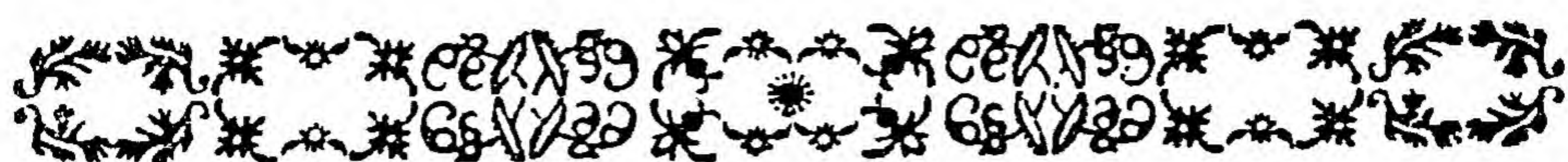
D U B L I N :

Printed for JAMES WILLIAMS, Bookseller,  
at No. 5, in SKINNER-ROW. 1772.









# YRROPÆDIA:



OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

CYRUS.

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By XENOPHON.

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BOOK V.

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YRUS then calling to him *Araspes* the Mede, (he that had been his companion from a boy, to whom he gave the Median robe that he himself put off when he left *Astyages*, and departed for *Persia*,) commanded him to keep the woman and tent for him. This woman was wife of *Abradatas* king of the *Susians*. And when the camp of the *Assyrians* was taken, her husband was not in the camp, but was gone upon an embassy to the king of the *Bactrians*; the *Assyrians* had sent him to treat of an alliance between them, for he happened to have contracted a friendship with the king of the *Bactrians*. This woman,



woman, therefore, he ordered *Araspes* to keep, till such time as he took her himself. But *Araspes*, having received his command, asked him this question.

‘*CYRUS*,’ said he, ‘have you seen this woman that you bid me keep? No, by *Jove*,’ said he, ‘I have not. But I did,’ said he, ‘when we chose her for you. Indeed, when we first entered her tent, we did not know her; for she was sitting upon the ground, with all her women-servants round her, and was dressed in the same manner as her servants were; but when we looked around, being desirous to know which was the mistress, she immediately appeared to excel all the others, tho’ she was sitting, with a veil over her, and looking down upon the ground. When we bid her rise, she, and all the servants round her, rose. Here then she excelled, first in stature, then in strength, and grace, and beautiful shape; though she was standing in a dejected posture, and tears appeared to have fallen from her eyes, some upon her cloaths, and some at her feet. As soon as the eldest among us had said to her, take courage, woman; we have heard, that your husband is indeed an excellent man; but we now choose you out for a man: that, be it known to you, is not inferior to him, either in person, in understanding, or in power; but as we think, if there be a man in the world that deserves admiration, *Cyrus* does, and to him hence-forward you shall belong. As soon as the woman heard this, she tore down her robe, and set up a lamentable cry, and her servants cried out at the same time with her. Upon this, most part of her face discovered itself, and her neck and hands appeared. And be it known to you, *Cyrus*,’ said he, ‘that I, and the rest that saw her, all thought, that never yet was  
‘ produced



‘ produced or born of mortals such a woman  
‘ throughout all *Asia*. And by all means,’ said he,  
‘ you likewise shall see her.’

THEN *Cyrus*, said, ‘ No, by *Jove*, not I ; and  
‘ much the less, if she be such a one as you say.’  
‘ Why so ?’ said the young man. ‘ Because,’ said  
‘ he, if upon hearing now from you that she is hand-  
‘ some, I am persuaded to go and see her at a time  
‘ that I have not much leisure ; I am afraid that  
‘ she will much more easily persuade me to come  
‘ and see her again ; and after that, perhaps, I may  
‘ neglect what I am to do, and sit gazing at her.’

The young man then laughed, and said, ‘ And do  
‘ you think, *Cyrus*, that the beauty of a human  
‘ creature can necessitate one, against one’s will, to  
‘ act contrary to what is best ? If this were natu-  
‘ rally so,’ said he, ‘ we should be all under the  
‘ same necessity. You see,’ said he, ‘ how fire burns  
‘ all people alike, for such is the nature of it. But  
‘ of beauties, some inspire people with love, and  
‘ some do not, one loves one, and another another ;  
‘ for it is a voluntary thing, and every one loves  
‘ those that he pleases. A brother does not fall in  
‘ love with a sister, but some body else does, nor is  
‘ a father in love with a daughter, but some other  
‘ person is ; fear, and the law, are a sufficient bar  
‘ to love. If indeed,’ said he, ‘ the law should en-  
‘ join, that they who did not eat should not be hun-  
‘ gry, and that they who did not drink should not  
‘ be thirsty ; that men should not be cold in the  
‘ winter, nor hot in the summer ; no law in the  
‘ world could make men submit to these decisions,  
‘ for by nature they are subject to these things.  
‘ But love is a voluntary thing, and every one loves  
‘ those that suit him, just as he does his cloaths or his  
‘ shoes. How comes it to pass then,’ said *Cyrus*, if  
‘ to love be a voluntary thing, that one cannot give

‘ it



‘ it over when one will ? For I have seen people,’  
 said he, ‘ in tears for grief, upon the account of  
 ‘ love ; slaves to those they were in love with, and  
 ‘ yet thought slavery a very great evil, before they  
 ‘ were in love ; giving away many things that they  
 ‘ were never the better for parting with, wishing to  
 ‘ be rid of love, as they would of any other dis-  
 ‘ temper, and yet not able to get rid of it, but  
 ‘ bound down by it, as by a stronger tie of neces-  
 ‘ sity, than if they were bound in iron chains ! They  
 ‘ give themselves up therefore to those they love, to  
 ‘ serve them in many odd and unaccountable ways,  
 ‘ yet with all their sufferings, they never attempt  
 ‘ making their escape, but keep continual watch  
 ‘ upon their loves, lest they should escape from  
 ‘ them.’

THE young man to this said, ‘ There are peo-  
 ‘ ple,’ said he, ‘ indeed, that do these things, but  
 said he, ‘ they are miserable wretches ; and this I  
 ‘ believe is the reason why they are always wishing  
 ‘ themselves dead, as being wretched and unhappy,  
 ‘ and though there are ten thousand ways of parting  
 ‘ with life, yet they don’t part with it. Just such  
 ‘ wretches as these, are they that attempt thefts,  
 ‘ and will not abstain from what belong to others,  
 ‘ but when they have plundered and stolen any  
 ‘ thing, you see,’ said he, ‘ that you are the first  
 ‘ that accuse the thief and the plunderer, as reck-  
 ‘ oning theft to be no such fatal necessary thing, and  
 ‘ you do not pardon but punish it. So people that  
 ‘ are beautiful do not necessitate others to love them,  
 ‘ nor to covet what they ought not ; but mean  
 ‘ wretched men are impotent I know, in all their  
 ‘ passions, and then they accuse love. Men, excel-  
 ‘ lent and worthy, though they have inclinations  
 ‘ both for gold, fine horses, and beautiful women,  
 ‘ can yet with ease abstain from any of them, so as  
 ‘ not



‘ not to touch them contrary to right ; I therefore,’  
said he, ‘ who have seen this woman, and think her  
‘ very beautiful, yet I am here attending upon you,  
‘ and I am abroad on horseback, and in all other  
‘ respects I discharge my duty.’

‘ BUT, by *Jove* ! said *Cyrus*, perhaps you retired  
‘ before the time that love naturally lays hold of a  
‘ man. ’Tis the nature of fire not immediately to  
‘ burn the man that touches it, and wood does not  
‘ immediately blaze out ; yet still I am not willing  
‘ either to meddle with fire, or to look at beautiful  
‘ persons : nor do I advise you, *Araspes*, to let your  
‘ eyes dwell long upon beauties ; for as fire burns  
‘ those that touch it, beauties catch hold of those  
‘ that look at them, though at a distance, and set  
‘ them on fire with love.’

‘ BE easy,’ said he, ‘ *Cyrus* ; though I look at her  
‘ without ceasing, I will not be so conquered, as to  
‘ do any thing that I ought not. You speak,’ said  
he, ‘ very handsomely, guard her therefore,’ said  
he, ‘ as I bid you, and be careful of her. For per-  
‘ haps this woman may be of service to us upon  
‘ some occasion or other.’ And having discoursed  
thus, they parted.

THE young man, partly by seeing the woman to  
be extremely beautiful, and by being apprized of  
her worth and goodness, partly by waiting upon her  
and serving her, with intention to please her, and  
partly by his finding her not to be ungrateful in  
return, but that she took care, by her servants,  
that all things convenient should be provided for  
him when he came in, and that she should want  
nothing when he was ill ; by all these means, he  
was made her captive in love ; and, perhaps, what  
happened to him in this case, was what need not to  
be wondered at.

Thus were these things transacted.

BUT



BUT *Cyrus* designing that both the *Medes* and allies should stay with him of their own accord, summoned together all the proper persons : and when they were met, spoke to this effect. ‘ *Medes*, and  
 ‘ all you that are here present, I know very well  
 ‘ that you came with me, not out of any desire of  
 ‘ getting money, nor with the thought of serving  
 ‘ *Cyaxares* by it ; but you were willing to oblige me  
 ‘ by it, and in honour to me, you resolved to un-  
 ‘ dertake a march by night, and to embark your-  
 ‘ selves in dangers and hazards with me ; and if I  
 ‘ am not very unjust, I must acknowledge myself  
 ‘ indebted to you for these things. But I don’t  
 ‘ think I am yet able to make a due return of them.  
 ‘ This I am not ashamed to say. But that I will  
 ‘ make you just returns, if you stay with me ; this,  
 ‘ be it known to you, I should be ashamed to tell  
 ‘ you ; for I should think that it would look as if I  
 ‘ said this only to make you the more willing to stay  
 ‘ with me. Instead of that, therefore, I say this, if  
 ‘ you now go away in obedience to *Cyaxares*, yet  
 ‘ will I endeavour, if I act with success, to deal by  
 ‘ you in such a manner, as shall make you applaud  
 ‘ me. For my own part, I will not go, and the  
 ‘ *Hyrceanians* to whom I have given my oath and my  
 ‘ right hand, I will stand by, I will not be caught  
 ‘ betraying them. And for *Gobrias*, who delivers  
 ‘ us up his fortrefs, his territory, and his whole  
 ‘ force ; I will endeavour to bring it about, that he  
 ‘ shall not repent his journey to me ; and what is  
 ‘ above all, when the gods so evidently deliver all  
 ‘ these advantages into our hands, I ought to reve-  
 ‘ rence them, and be ashamed to make a rash re-  
 ‘ treat and abandon all, Thus therefore,’ said he,  
 ‘ will I act ; Do you as you judge proper, and tell  
 ‘ me what your mind is : Thus he spoke.’

AND he, who before had said that he was related  
 ‘ to *Cyrus*, replied, ‘ As for me, said he, O king !  
 (for



‘ (for you I take to be as much by birth and nature  
‘ my king, as the particular bee in a hive is born  
‘ the leader of the bees : for that one they willing-  
‘ ly obey ; where that remains, not one from thence  
‘ departs ; that remove, not one of them is left  
‘ behind ; so strong is the affection they are inspi-  
‘ red with to be governed by it. And men seem to  
‘ me to be almost exactly thus disposed towards  
‘ you. For when you left us and went into *Persia*,  
‘ what *Mede*, either young or old, staid behind  
‘ and did not follow you, till *Astyages* made us turn  
‘ back ? When you set out from *Persia* to our assist-  
‘ ance, we again saw almost all our friends volun-  
‘ tarily following you ; and when you were desirous  
‘ to undertake the expedition hither, all the *Medes*  
‘ willingly attended you ; and we now stand so dis-  
‘ posed, as that, with you, tho’ we are in an ene-  
‘ my’s country, we have courage, and without you  
‘ we are afraid even to go home. Let the rest  
‘ therefore speak for themselves, and declare what  
‘ they will do. I *Cyrus*, and they that are under  
‘ my command, will remain with you, and com-  
‘ forted with the sight of you, and supplied by  
‘ your bounty ; we will undergo any thing, and  
‘ bear it with bravery.’

UPON this, *Tygranes* spoke thus ; ‘ Do not at  
‘ all wonder, said he, *Cyrus*, if I am silent ; for  
‘ my soul, said he, is not prepared for advising you,  
‘ but for executing what you command.’

THEN the *Hyrceanian* said, ‘ For my part, O  
‘ *Medes* ! if you now go away, I should say, it  
‘ were the pleasure of some deity, not to suffer  
‘ you to be highly fortunate and happy. For what  
‘ human creature can determine for turning back  
‘ when the enemies are flying ? Or when they deli-  
‘ ver their arms, would refuse to accept them ? Or  
‘ when they deliver up themselves and all that be-  
‘ longs to them, would refuse to receive them ?  
‘ Especially



‘ Especially when we have such a leader, as, in my  
 ‘ opinion, and I swear it to you by all the gods !  
 ‘ is more pleased with doing us good, than with  
 ‘ enriching himself ?’ Upon this ; the *Medes* all  
 said thus, ‘ You, O *Cyrus* ! have led us out, and do  
 ‘ you, when you think it proper to retire, lead us  
 ‘ back again with you.’

*CYRUS* having heard these things made this prayer.

‘ BUT do thou, greatest *Jove* ! I beg thee, grant  
 ‘ me to exceed in good offices, those that pay me  
 ‘ such honour !’

UPON this, he ordered the rest to place their guards, and attend to the care of themselves. But the *Persians* he ordered to take possession of their tents ; the horsemen such as were proper for them, and the foot such as were sufficient for the foot ; and he ordered things to be regulated, that they who were in the tents dispatching the business there, should bring all necessaries to the *Persians* in their ranks, and see that the horses were taken care of, that the *Persians* might have no other work to do, but the business of war.—This day they thus passed.

AND the next morning when they arose, they marched to join *Gobrias*. *Cyrus* marched on horseback, as did also the *Persian* horsemen, who were about two thousand. They who held the shields and the swords of these men who followed after them, being equal to them in number. And the rest of the army marched in order of battle. He ordered every one to tell their new servants, that whoever of them should be seen either behind the rear-guard, or before the front, or should be caught on the outside of those that were in their ranks upon either wing, should be punished. On the second day, towards the evening, they reached the habitation



habitation of *Gobrias*. They saw it to be an exceeding strong fortress, and that all things were provided upon the walls, proper for a vigorous defence, and they saw abundance of oxen and sheep brought under the fortifications. *Gobrias* then sending to *Cyrus*, bid him ride round, and see where the access was most easy, and send into him some of those that he confided in ; who having seen how things stood within, might give him an account of them. So *Cyrus*, desiring in reality to see if the fortress might be taken on any side, or whether *Gobrias* might be discovered to be false, rode round on every side, but saw every part too strong to be approached. They that *Cyrus* sent into *Gobrias*, brought him an account, that there was such plenty of all good things within, as could not (as they thought) not even in the age of a man, come to fail the people that were there. *Cyrus* was under concern about what all this might mean. But *Gobrias* himself came out to him ; and brought out all his men ; some carrying wine, some meal, and others driving oxen, sheep, hogs, and goats, and of every thing that was eatable ; they brought sufficient to furnish a handsome supper for the whole army, that was with *Cyrus*. They that were appointed to this service, made distribution of all these things, and they all supped. But *Gobrias*, when all his men were come out, bid *Cyrus* enter in the manner that he thought the most safe. *Cyrus* therefore sending in before certain people to view and search into things, and a force with them, then entered himself ; and when he was got in, keeping the gates open, he summoned all his friends and the commanders that had attended him ; and when they were come in, *Gobrias* producing cups of gold and vessels of various kinds, all manner of furniture and apparel, daricks without number, and

VOL. II. O magnificent



magnificent things of all kinds, and at last bringing out his daughter (who was astonishingly beautiful and tall, but in affliction upon the death of her brother) spoke thus.

‘*CYRUS*, all these treasures I give you, and this daughter of mine I intrust you with, to dispose of as you think fit, but we are both of us your supplicants. I, before, that you would be the revenger of my son; and she, now, that you would be the revenger of her brother.’

*CYRUS* to this said, ‘I promised you then, that if you were not false to us, I would revenge you to the utmost of my power; and now that I find you true to us, I am under the obligation of that promise. And I now promise her, with the help of the gods, to perform it. These treasures, said he, I accept, but give them to this your daughter, and to the man that shall marry her. But I go off with one present from you, that I could not go off with more pleasure with the treasures of *Babylon*, where there are abundance; nor even with those of the whole world, were they to be exchanged for this, that you have now presented me with.’

*GOBRIAS* wondering what it should be, and suspecting that he meant his daughter, asked him thus, ‘O *Cyrus*, said he, what is it?’

THEN *Cyrus* replied, ‘*Gobrias*!’ said he, ‘it is this. I believe there may be abundance of men, that would not be guilty either of impiety, injustice or falshood, and yet because nobody will throw either treasures, or power, or strong fortresses, or lovely children in their way, die before it comes to appear what they were. But you, by having now put into my hands both strong fortresses, and riches of all kinds, your whole force, and your daughter, who is so valuable a possession;



‘ possession; have made me clearly appear to all  
‘ men, to be one that would neither be guilty of  
‘ impiety towards friends that receive and enter-  
‘ tain me, nor of injustice for the sake of treasure,  
‘ nor willingly false to faith in compacts. This,  
‘ therefore be you assured, I will not forget, while  
‘ I am a just man, and while as such, I receive the  
‘ applause of men, but I will endeavour to make  
‘ you returns, of honour in all things great and no-  
‘ ble; and don’t be afraid of wanting a husband  
‘ for your daughter, and such a one as shall be wor-  
‘ thy of her. For I have many excellent friends,  
‘ and amongst them, whoever it is that marries  
‘ her, whether he will have either as much treasure  
‘ as you have given, or a great deal more, I am not  
‘ able to say; but be assured, that there are some  
‘ of them, who for all the treasures you have be-  
‘ stowed, do not upon that account esteem you one  
‘ jot the more. But they are at this time my ri-  
‘ vals, they supplicate all the gods, that they may  
‘ have an opportunity of shewing themselves, that  
‘ they are not less faithful to their friends than I  
‘ am, that while alive they will never yield to their  
‘ enemies, unless some god should blast their en-  
‘ deavours, and that for virtue and good reputa-  
‘ tion, they would not accept of all the treasures  
‘ of the *Syrians* and *Affyrians* added unto yours.  
‘ Such men, be you assured, are sitting here!’

*GOBRIAS* smiling at this, ‘ By the gods!’  
said he, ‘ *Cyrus!* pray shew me where these men  
‘ are, that I may beg one of them of you to be my  
‘ son.’ ‘ Don’t trouble yourself, said he, it will not  
‘ be at all necessary for you to enquire that of me.  
‘ If you will but attend us, you yourself will be  
‘ able to shew them every one to any body else.’

AND having said this, he took *Gobrias* by the  
right hand, rose, went out, and brought out all that  
were with him; and tho’ *Gobrias* repeatedly desi-



red him to take his supper within, yet he would not do it, but supped in the camp, and took *Gobrias* to sup with him. After he had lain himself down on a matreïs, he asked him thus. ‘Tell me,’ said he, ‘*Gobrias*! whether do you think that you, or we here, have the greatest plenty of furniture for couches. He replied, ‘By *Jove*! I know very well, that you have the furniture of this kind in greatest abundance, and couches too in greater number; and then your habitations are much larger than mine; for you have heaven and earth for a habitation; and couches you have, as many as there are places upon the earth to lie on; and for their furniture, you don’t only think that you have as much of it, as there grows of wool upon the backs of sheep, but as much as there is of stubble and brushwood that the mountains and plains produce.’

BUT *Gobrias* then supping with him for the first time, and observing the coarseness of the meats that were set before them, thought that they themselves lived in a much nobler manner than these people. But he afterwards considered their great temperance; for no disciplined *Persian* ever appeared struck with any sort of meats or drink, either by eagerness in his eyes, or by greediness, or by any such intenseness of mind, as not to give the same attention to things, as if he were not taken up in eating. But as good horsemen by keeping themselves easy and undisturbed on horseback, are able at the same time to see, to hear, and to speak what is proper; so they think, that while they are at their food, they ought to appear discreet, and temperate; and to be much moved with any sort of meat, or drink, they take to be hoggish and brutal. He considered likewise their manner of converse, in asking each other such questions, as were more agreeable to be asked than not; in jesting with each



each other in such a manner as was more pleasing than if let alone; and of their sporting with each other, but so as to keep at the greatest distance from being abusive, or from doing any thing indecent and ugly, and from giving one another offence. But what seemed to him to be above all, was, that men engaged in military service should think, that none of those engaged in the same dangers should be served with greater plenty than others, but they reckoned it their noblest feast, to provide in the best manner for those that were to be their fellow combatants. And when *Gobrias* rose up to go to his house, he is reported to have said :

‘ It is no longer a wonder to me, *Cyrus!* that we possess those fine vessels, gold and rich habits, in greater abundance than you do ; and that we are much less deserving than you are : for we do our endeavours to obtain as many of these things as we can, and your endeavours are to make yourselves the most excellent men!’ Thus he spoke ; and *Cyrus* said, ‘ Take, care *Gobrias*, to attend in the morning with your horse, ready in arms, that we may see your force, and at the same time, that you may conduct us thro’ your territory, that we may know what we are to reckon belonging to our friends, and what to our enemies.’

AND having thus discoursed, they parted, each retiring to his proper business.

WHEN day came, *Gobrias* attended with his horse, and led them the way. But *Cyrus*, as became a commander, was not only attentive to his present march ; but as he advanced, considered whether it was in his power by any means to distress and weaken the enemy, and to strengthen themselves. Calling therefore the *Hyrceanians* and *Gobrias* to him, (for he judged that these understood best the things that he thought it necessary for him



to be informed of,) ‘My friends!’ said he, ‘I don’t  
 ‘think that I am in the wrong, when I consult with  
 ‘you upon the subject of this war, as with men  
 ‘that are faithful and true. For I find, that it is  
 ‘more your business than mine to take care, that  
 ‘the *Assyrian* do not get the better of us: I, per-  
 ‘haps, though I fail in my undertaking here, may  
 ‘yet have a farther resource; but if he get the bet-  
 ‘ter, I see that all is lost for you. He is indeed  
 ‘my enemy; but not out of any hatred he bears  
 ‘me, but because he thinks it a damage to himself  
 ‘that we should be considerable, and this was the  
 ‘reason he made war upon us. But you he hates,  
 ‘and by you he thinks himself unjustly dealt with.’  
 To this they both answered, ‘That he should pro-  
 ‘ceed as he intended, and as concluding, that they  
 ‘were convinced of what he said, and under the  
 ‘greatest care and concern for the turn that the  
 ‘present state of their affairs might take.’ Here  
 then he thus began. ‘Tell me,’ said he, ‘does  
 ‘the *Assyrian* think that you are the only people at  
 ‘enmity with him, or do you know any body else  
 ‘that is his enemy?’ ‘Yes, by *Jove*!’ said the  
*Hyrcanian*, ‘the *Cadusians* are his enemies in the  
 ‘highest degree, and are a strong and numerous  
 ‘people. The *Sacians* too, that are our borderers,  
 ‘and who have undergone a great many hardships  
 ‘under the *Assyrian* (for he endeavoured to subdue  
 ‘them as he did us.)’ ‘Don’t you think there-  
 ‘fore’ said he, ‘that they would both, with plea-  
 ‘sure fall upon the *Assyrian* in conjunction with us?’  
 ‘With a great deal of pleasure,’ said they, ‘if they  
 ‘could join us.’ ‘What is there then between,’  
 said he, ‘to hinder our joining?’ ‘The *Assyrians*,’  
 said they, ‘the very nation that you are now march-  
 ‘ing through.’

AFTER *Cyrus* had heard this, ‘Well, *Gobrias*!’  
 said he, ‘don’t you charge this young man, that  
 ‘is



‘ is now established as king, with great pride, and  
‘ insolence of temper ?’ ‘ Yes, said *Gobrias*, for I  
‘ have suffered by him accordingly.’ ‘ And has he  
‘ then,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ been so only to you ? or has  
‘ he been so to others besides ?’ ‘ By *Jove* ! said  
‘ *Gobrias*, to many others. But what need I men-  
‘ tion the wrongs he has done to the inconsiderable !  
‘ There is one man abundantly more powerful than  
‘ myself, whose son being his companion, as mine  
‘ was, and drinking with him at his own house, he  
‘ took and castrated ; because, as some say, his  
‘ courtezan had commended him as a handsome  
‘ man, and pronounced that woman happy that was  
‘ to be his wife. But, as he himself now says, it  
‘ was because he had made an attempt upon his  
‘ courtezan. This man is now an eunuch, and  
‘ since the death of his father holds that govern-  
‘ ment.’ ‘ Don’t you think therefore,’ said he,  
‘ that this man, would see us with pleasure, if he  
‘ thought we would support him ?’ I know it very  
‘ well,’ said *Gobrias*. ‘ But to come at the sight of  
‘ him, *Cyrus*, is a difficult matter.’ ‘ How so !’ said  
*Cyrus*. ‘ Because if any one has a mind to join  
‘ him, one must pass by *Babylon* itself.’ ‘ And what  
‘ difficulty then is there in this ?’ ‘ The difficulty,  
‘ by *Jove* !’ said *Gobrias*, ‘ is, that the forces that  
‘ belong to that place alone, I know be much grea-  
‘ ter than those you have at present with you, and  
‘ be assured, that the *Assyrians* are now less forward,  
‘ than before, to bring you arms and horses, for  
‘ this reason, that your force appears to be but lit-  
‘ tle to those that have had a view of it : and the  
‘ discourse of this has been already much spread  
‘ abroad among them. So it seems to me,’ said he  
‘ to be best for us to be upon our guard, and cau-  
‘ tious as to our march.’

*CYRUS*, hearing this from *Gobrias*, spoke to him  
in this manner :



‘ In my opinion, *Gobrias* ! you say very well,  
‘ when you bid us take the safest course we can,  
‘ with respect to our march ; and therefore, upon  
‘ consideration, I am not able to find, that any  
‘ other march is safer for us than that to *Babylon* it-  
‘ self ; if the principal strength of the enemy lies  
‘ there. For you say, they are very numerous ;  
‘ and if they are in heart, then I say they will be  
‘ terrible to us. By not seeing us, therefore, and  
‘ by imagining that it is our fear of them that keeps  
‘ us from appearing ; be assured,’ said he, ‘ that  
‘ they will be released from the fear that has been  
‘ upon them : courage will spring up in its stead,  
‘ and a courage that will be so much the greater,  
‘ as they are the longer without seeing us. If we  
‘ march instantly up to them, we shall find many  
‘ of them lamenting for those that we have killed,  
‘ many still bound up, by reason of the wounds  
‘ they received from our people, and all of them  
‘ still well remembering the boldness of this army,  
‘ as well as their own misfortune and flight. And  
‘ be assured, *Gobrias* ! of this besides, that a mul-  
‘ titude, when they are in heart, raise in themselves  
‘ such a courage, as nothing can withstand, but  
‘ when they are in fear, they bring upon themselves  
‘ such a terror, as is the greater, and strikes upon  
‘ them so much the more, as they are the more in  
‘ number. For it falls upon them, increased by  
‘ numerous stories of misfortune ; and gathers to a  
‘ head from many unhappy circumstances, and  
‘ from multitudes of dejected and astonished looks.  
‘ So that it grows to such a height, that it is no ea-  
‘ sy matter, either to suppress it by any discourse,  
‘ or to raise a spirit by leading to the enemy, or to  
‘ nurse up a courage by retreating ; but the more  
‘ you exhort them to confidence, they imagine  
‘ themselves to be in so much the more dangerous  
‘ circumstances.



‘ circumstances. And now let us examine strictly  
‘ into this particular farther. And, indeed, if vic-  
‘ tories from henceforward, are acts to be perform-  
‘ ed only by that party that can reckon the greatest  
‘ numbers, you are in the right to fear for us, and  
‘ we are in reality in dangerous circumstances. But  
‘ if engagements, as heretofore they have been, are  
‘ still decided by good combatants, you will not be  
‘ at all in the wrong to be of good heart; for, with  
‘ the help of the gods! you will find more amongst  
‘ us, that are forward to engage, than amongst  
‘ them. And that you may be still more in heart,  
‘ consider this; that the enemies are at this time  
‘ much weaker than they were before they were  
‘ beaten by us, and still weaker than when they  
‘ fled from us; but we are more in vigour since we  
‘ have been victorious, and stronger since you have  
‘ joined us. For do not still think contemptuously  
‘ of your people, now that they are with us; for  
‘ be assured, *Gobrias*, that they that attend the vic-  
‘ torious, follow with confidence: nor let this escape  
‘ your notice,’ said he, ‘ that the enemy is now at  
‘ full liberty to see us; but we cannot by any means  
‘ make our appearance with greater terror to them,  
‘ than by our marching up to them. As this there-  
‘ fore is my fixed opinion, do you lead us directly  
‘ the way to *Babylon*.’

So marching on, they reached the boundaries of *Gobrias*’s territory upon the fourth day. When he was got into the enemy’s country, he took the foot to himself, and as many of the horse as he thought proper, and formed them. The rest of the horse he sent out upon excursions; he ordered them to kill those that were in arms, but to bring the rest to him, together with whatever sheep or cattle they should take. He ordered out the *Persians* likewise  
upon



upon this service, with the others ; and many of them returned, after having got falls from their horses, but many of them brought off considerable booty. When the booty arrived, and that he had called together the commanders of the *Medes* and *Hyrcauians*, together with the alike-honoured, he spoke thus :

‘ *G O B R I A S*, my friends, has entertained us  
 ‘ all with good thing in great abundance : there-  
 ‘ fore,’ said he, ‘ after having taken out what is  
 ‘ due to the gods, and what will be sufficient for  
 ‘ the army, if we should give the remainder of the  
 ‘ booty to him, we should do a handsome thing, by  
 ‘ making it immediately appear, that we endeavour  
 ‘ in benefits to exceed our benefactors.’

When they had heard this, they all commended and applauded it, and one of them spoke thus :  
 ‘ This we will do, *Cyrus* !’ said he, ‘ by all means ;  
 ‘ for I believe,’ said he, ‘ that *Gobrias* took us for  
 ‘ beggarly people, because we came not with *Daricks*  
 ‘ in abundance, and do not drink out of golden  
 ‘ cups ; but if we do this that you propose, he  
 ‘ may then understand that it is possible to be gene-  
 ‘ rous even without gold.’ ‘ Go then,’ said he,  
 ‘ and having delivered to the *Mages* what is due to  
 ‘ the gods, and taken what is sufficient for the ar-  
 ‘ my, call *Gobrias* and give him the remainder.’

So these men having taken as much as was proper, gave the rest to *Gobrias*. Upon this he marched on to *Babylon* itself, making the same disposition as when he fought. And the *Assyrians* declining to come out against him, *Cyrus* commanded *Gobrias* to ride on before, and to declare that if the king were willing to come out, and fight for his territory, he would fight him ; but if he would not defend his territory, that then of necessity he was to submit to his conquerors. *Gobrias* riding on as far as it was  
 safe,



safe, notified these things. And the other sent out one to return him an answer, in this manner.

‘ *G O B R I A S*, your sovereign says to you thus.  
‘ That I have killed your son, I do not repent ;  
‘ but I repent that I have not killed you likewise !  
‘ If you would fight, come hither upon the thirti-  
‘ eth day from hence ! we are at this time not at  
‘ leisure, for we are yet employed in our prepara-  
‘ tions.’

THEN *Gobrias* said, ‘ May that repentance never  
‘ quit you ! for it is plain I am a torment to you,  
‘ from the moment that this repentance takes place.’

*G O B R I A S* brought back the message from the *Assyrian* ; and *Cyrus* having heard it, drew off the army, and calling *Gobrias* to him ; ‘ Tell me,  
‘ said he, did not you say, that you thought a cer-  
‘ tain person, who had been castrated by the *Assyrian*,  
‘ would take part with us ?’ ‘ I think I know  
‘ it very well, said he, for he and I have often con-  
‘ ferred together with great freedom.’ ‘ When  
‘ you think it proper therefore, do you go to him.  
‘ And in the first place you must manage, so, as to  
‘ know what he says upon the subject, and when  
‘ you have conferred with him, if you find him in-  
‘ clined to be our friend, you must then contrive,  
‘ that his friendship for us may be kept concealed ;  
‘ for no one can by any other means do greater ser-  
‘ vice to his friends in the war, than by appearing  
‘ to be their enemy ; nor can he by any other  
‘ means do greater mischief to his enemy, than  
‘ by appearing to be their friend.’ ‘ I know in-  
‘ deed, said *Gobrias*, that *Gadatas* would pay any  
‘ price, to do some considerable mischief to the  
‘ *Assyrian* king ; but then we must consider what  
‘ it is that he can do.’ ‘ Tell me, then, said *Cyrus*,  
‘ that fortress ! that lies upon the frontier of this  
‘ country, and that you say was built as a barrier,  
‘ and



‘ and defence to it, in war, against the *Hyrceanians*  
‘ and *Sacians*, do you think, said he, that the com-  
‘ mander of it would admit the eunuch into it, if  
‘ he came thither with his forces.’ ‘ Certainly,  
‘ said *Gobrias*, if he came unsuspected as now he  
‘ is.’ ‘ Therefore, said he, he would stand the  
‘ clearest from all suspicion, if I should fall upon  
‘ the places that are in his possession, as intending  
‘ to make myself master of them, and he should  
‘ act with his forces against me ; if I should take  
‘ something of his, and he on the other side should  
‘ take either some others of our people, or some of  
‘ those messengers that I send to such people as you  
‘ say are enemies to the *Assyrian*, and if the people  
‘ so taken, declare that they were going to get for-  
‘ ces, and to fetch ladders for the attack of the  
‘ fortress, and if the eunuch then pretend, that  
‘ upon hearing these things, he attended him with  
‘ intention to give him an account of them.’——

THEN *Gobrias* said, ‘ If these things are thus  
‘ transacted, I know very well, that he would ad-  
‘ mit him, and would beg him to stay till you were  
‘ gone.’ ‘ And then, said *Cyrus*, if he were once  
‘ got in, could not he give up the fortress into our  
‘ hands ?’ ‘ Very probably, said *Gobrias*, if he  
‘ prepared matters within, and you brought a con-  
‘ siderable strength upon them from without.’  
‘ Go then, said he, and after you have given him  
‘ your instructions, and accomplished these matters,  
‘ endeavour to be here with us again : but as for  
‘ his securities of our keeping faith with him, I  
‘ desire you would neither mention, nor intimate  
‘ to him any greater than those that you yourself  
‘ received from us.’

UPON this, *Gobrias* went his way. The eunuch  
seeing him, with great pleasure consented in every  
thing, and settled with him the things that were  
proper to be done.



AND when *Gobrias* brought back an account, that the whole business of his errand was firmly settled and agreed with the eunuch, then the next day, *Cyrus* fell in upon him. *Gadatas* defended himself against the attack; the place that *Cyrus* took was that that *Gadatas* had appointed: of the messengers that *Cyrus* sent, directing them beforehand which way they should go, some *Gadatas* suffered to escape, that they might bring forces and fetch ladders: but those that he took, he put to the torture before a great many people, and when he had heard what they declared to be the business they went about, he immediately prepared all things and marched in the night as intending to go and give an account of it. To conclude, he was trusted, and he entered the fortress as an assistant, in the defence of it; for a while he concurred with the governor in all preparations, as far as he was able; but when *Cyrus* came up he seized the fortress, making the prisoners he had taken from *Cyrus* his assistants in the work.

WHEN this was done, the eunuch *Gadatas* having settled matters within, came out immediately to *Cyrus*, and having paid him his adoration in the accustomed manner, he said——‘Happiness! O *Cyrus*, and joy to you!’ ‘I have it, said he, already, for, with the help of the gods! you not only bespeak joy to me, but you oblige me to rejoice: for be assured, said he, I take it to be a thing of great importance, to leave this place to my friends and allies in these parts. Your having of children, *Gadatas*, is what the *Assyrian* it seems has taken from you, but the power of acquiring friends he has not deprived you of; and be assured, that by this action, you have made friends of us, who will endeavour, if we are able, to be as good supports to you, as if you had sons or posterity.’——Thus he spoke.

UPON



UPON this, the *Hyrceanian*, who had just got notice of what had happened, ran to *Cyrus*, and taking him by the right-hand, said, ——— ‘ O how great a blessing, *Cyrus*, are you to your friends ! what a debt of gratitude and thanks do you bring me under to the gods, for having united me to you ! ’ ‘ Go then presently, said *Cyrus*, and take possession of the place you are so pleased with me for ; and dispose of it in such a manner as it may be of most advantage to your own nation, and to our other allies, but chiefly, said he, to *Gadatas* here, who has taken it and delivered it up to us.’ ‘ Therefore, said the *Hyrceanian*, when the *Cadusians*, the *Sacians* and my countrymen are come, shall we call in this man too, that all we who are concerned, may consult in common how we may make use of this fortrels to the best advantage ? ’ *Cyrus* applauded the proposal, and when all that were concerned in the affair of this fortress were met, they jointly determined that it should be kept by those who had an advantage by its being in their interest ; that it might be a bulwark and defence to them and their rampart against the *Assyrians*.

WHEN this was done, the *Cadusians* engaged with much more readiness and zeal in the service, as did likewise the *Sacians* and *Hyrceanians* ; and from that time, there was formed an army of *Cadusians*, consisting of twenty thousand shield-men, and four thousand horse ; of *Sacians*, an army consisting of ten thousand bowmen on foot, and two thousand on horseback : the *Hyrceanians* sent out all the foot that they were able, and filled up their horse to the number of two thousand. For most of their horse were at first left behind, because the *Cadusians* and *Sacians* were enemies to the *Assyrians*. And all the time that *Cyrus* lay employed about the regulating this fortrels, many of the *Assyrians* in those



those parts brought horses, and many brought arms, being afraid of all their neighbours.

UPON this, *Gadatas* comes to *Cyrus*, and tells him, that there were messengers arrived, who told him, ' That the *Assyrian*, when he was informed of what ' had passed in the affair of the fortress, was ex- ' tremely incensed, and made preparations to fall ' in upon his territory. ' Therefore, *Cyrus*, if you ' would dismiss me, I would endeavour to save my ' places of strength; of the rest I make less ac- ' count.' Then *Cyrus* said, ' If you set out now, ' when shall you be at home?' And *Gadatas* said, ' I shall sup in my own territory the third day.' ' And do you think,' said he, ' that you will find ' the *Assyrian* already there?' ' I know very well,' said he, ' that I shall; for he will make so much ' the more haste, as he thinks you to be at the ' greater distance.' ' And in how many days,' said *Cyrus*, ' might I get thither with the army?' To this *Gadatas* said, ' O my sovereign, you have a ' very good army, and you would not be able to ' reach my habitation in less than six or seven days.' ' Do you then,' said *Cyrus*, ' go your ways as soon ' as you can, and I will march with all possible ' dispatch.'

*GADATAS* then went his way, and *Cyrus* called together all the commanders of his allies, and he seemed now to have a great many, and full of courage: and in their presence, he spoke to this effect.——' Friends and allies, *Gadatas* has per- ' formed such things, as we all judge to be of very ' great value to us, and this before he has received ' the least advantage whatever at our Hands. It is ' reported, that the *Assyrian* is now fallen in upon ' his territory; with design, as is evident, both to ' be revenged of him, because he thinks himself to ' have been highly injured by him, and perhaps, ' he considers with-all, that if they that revolt to ' us



‘ us receive no hurt or damage from him, and if  
 ‘ they that take part with him, are destroyed by us,  
 ‘ he must probably very soon have nobody that will  
 ‘ stand by him. Therefore, friends, we shall do,  
 ‘ in my opinion, a very handsome thing, if we yield  
 ‘ our assistance, with readiness and zeal, to *Gadatas*,  
 ‘ a man who has been our benefactor; we should  
 ‘ besides do an act of justice, by discharging a debt  
 ‘ of gratitude; and, in my opinion, we should at  
 ‘ the same time do what would be of advantage to  
 ‘ ourselves: For, if we make it appear, that we  
 ‘ endeavour to outdo in injuries, those that are in-  
 ‘ jurious and hurtful to us, and to exceed our be-  
 ‘ nefactors in good services; it is probable, that by  
 ‘ means of such a conduct, many will be willing to  
 ‘ be friends to us, and no body will desire to be  
 ‘ our enemy. But if we appear neglectful of *Ga-*  
 ‘ *datas*, in the name of all the gods! with what ar-  
 ‘ guments can we persuade others to do us any  
 ‘ kindnesses? How can we dare to commend our-  
 ‘ selves? And how can any of us possibly look *Ga-*  
 ‘ *datas* in the face, if we are outdone by him in  
 ‘ good offices? we who are so many, by him who  
 ‘ is a single man, and a man in such circumstances.’

THUS he spoke, and they all highly approved it.  
 —‘Come on then,’ said he, ‘since you agree with me  
 ‘ in opinion. Let every man of us leave with the  
 ‘ carriages and with the beasts of burthen, all those,  
 ‘ that are the properest to march with them; and  
 ‘ let *Gobrias* command and conduct them; for he  
 ‘ is skilled in the roads, and able in every other  
 ‘ respect. Let us march with the best of our men  
 ‘ and horse, taking necessaries with us for three  
 ‘ days. And the lighter and more frugal provision  
 ‘ we make, the pleasanter shall we dine and sup;  
 ‘ and the pleasanter shall we sleep on the days that  
 ‘ follow after. Now let our march be in this man-  
 ‘ ner; let *Chryfantas*, in the first place, lead those,  
 ‘ that



‘ that wear corselets, with all the centurions in  
‘ front, since the way is level and open; and let  
‘ each century march one by one in a line: For by  
‘ keeping in close order, we shall march with the  
‘ more dispatch, and the more safety. And ’tis for  
‘ this reason, that I order those that have corselets,  
‘ to lead; because they make the heaviest part of  
‘ the army; and when the heaviest load the way,  
‘ of necessity all the lighter follow with ease: but  
‘ when the lighter and nimbler part leads in the  
‘ night, it is not at all to be wondered at, that the  
‘ forces disperse; for the body that is at the head  
‘ runs off from the rest. After these,’ said he,  
‘ let *Artabazus* lead the *Persian* shield-men and  
‘ archers: after these let *Andranicas* the *Mede* lead  
‘ the *Median* foot: after these, *Embas*, the *Armenian*  
‘ foot: after these, *Artuchas*, the *Hyrceanians*: after  
‘ these, *Thambrydas*, the *Sacian* foot: after these,  
‘ *Damatas*, the *Cadusians*. Let all these lead with  
‘ their centurions in front, and with their shield-  
‘ men upon the right, and their archers upon the  
‘ left of their own oblong bodies; for by marching  
‘ in this manner, they are the more ready for ser-  
‘ vice. After these,’ said he, ‘ let the baggage-  
‘ servants of the whole army follow. Let their  
‘ commanders take care of them all, that they have  
‘ all things ready put up before they sleep; that  
‘ they attend early in the morning in their appoint-  
‘ ed posts, and follow in an orderly manner. Af-  
‘ ter the baggage-servants,’ said he, ‘ let *Madatas*  
‘ the *Persian* lead the *Persian* horse, and let him like-  
‘ wise have the centurions of horse in front; and let  
‘ the centurion lead his century in a line one after  
‘ another, in the same manner as the officers of foot.  
‘ After these, let *Rambacas* the *Mede* lead his horse  
‘ in the same manner. After these, do you, *Tygra-*  
‘ *nes*, lead your horse: and so the rest of the com-  
‘ manders of horse, the horse that each of them



‘ joined us with. After these let the *Sacians* march,  
 ‘ and the *Cadusians*, as they came into us the last ;  
 ‘ so let them bring up the rear of the whole army.  
 ‘ And do you, *Alceuna*, that command them, take  
 ‘ care to be in the rear of all, and don’t suffer any  
 ‘ to be behind your horse. And do you, comman-  
 ‘ ders, and all you that are wise, take care to march  
 ‘ silently ; for it is by means of the ears rather than  
 ‘ the eyes that all things must of necessity be disco-  
 ‘ covered and transacted in the night. And to be  
 ‘ put into disorder, is a thing of worse conse-  
 ‘ quence than in the day, and more difficult to be  
 ‘ recovered. For this reason, silence must be  
 ‘ practised, and order preserved. And when you  
 ‘ are to settle the night-watches, you ought always  
 ‘ to make them as short, and as many as is possible,  
 ‘ that much watching upon the night-guard may  
 ‘ not exhaust and disable any one for the march ;  
 ‘ and when the time comes for marching, the sig-  
 ‘ nal must be given by the sound of the horn.  
 ‘ And do you all attend ready upon the road to  
 ‘ *Babylon*, each of you with all things proper. And  
 ‘ let him that advances before, always exhort the  
 ‘ man behind him to follow.’

UPON this, they went to their tents, and, in go-  
 ing, discoursed among themselves how great a me-  
 mory *Cyrus* had, and how he gave his orders na-  
 ming all the persons that he gave directions to.  
 This *Cyrus* did out of his great care, and exactness ;  
 for he thought it very strange, that mean artificers  
 should each of them know the names of the tools  
 belonging to their art ; and that a physician should  
 know the names of all the medicines and instruments  
 that he uses ; but that a general should be such a  
 fool, as not to know the names of the commanders  
 that are under him, and that he must necessarily use  
 as his instruments. And whenever he had a mind  
 to possess himself of any thing, or to preserve it,  
 when



when he had a mind to raise courage, or to strike a terror, or when he had a mind to do honour to any one, he thought it became him to call the men by their names. And he was of opinion, that they who thought themselves known to their commander, would be the more desirous to be seen performing some noble action, and more zealous to abstain from doing any thing that was base. He thought it very foolish, when one had a mind that any thing should be done, to give orders as some masters in their private families give theirs ; let somebody go for water ! let somebody cleave the wood ! for when such orders were given, he thought that all looked one upon another, and that nobody dispatched the thing that was ordered ; and that all were in fault, yet nobody was ashamed or afraid, because the blame was shared amongst several. For these reasons he named all the persons when he gave his orders. This was Cyrus's judgment in this matter.

THE soldiers having taken their suppers, settled their watches, and put up all things that were proper, went to rest. When it was midnight, the signal was given by the sound of the horn ; and Cyrus having told *Chryfantas* that he would wait in the road upon the front of the army, went off taking his servants with him. In a short time after, *Chryfantas* came up at the head of those that wore corselets. Cyrus therefore giving him guides, ordered him to march gently on till a messenger came to him ; for they were not yet all upon the march. He standing in the same place, dismissed away, in order, those that came up, and sent off to call forward those that were dilatory. When they were all upon the march, he sent certain horsemen to *Chryfantas*, to tell him, that all were now upon the march. Lead on therefore with more dispatch ! He himself on horseback putting forward towards  
P 2 the



the van-front, observed at leisure the several bodies, and those that he saw marching orderly and silently he rode up to, and enquired who they were; and when he was informed he commended them: but if he perceived any of them to be tumultuous, he enquired into the cause of it, and endeavoured to allay the disturbance.

THERE is only one part of his care in the night, that has been omitted; which is, that at the head of the whole army, he sent out certain light and expeditious foot, not many in number, that *Chryfantas* was to keep within the reach of his eye, and who were to keep *Chryfantas* within the reach of theirs; who getting notices of things by the ear, or if by any other means able to receive any intelligence, were to signify to *Chryfantas* what the occasion seemed to require. There was one commander over them, who kept them in order, and notified what was worthy notice, and what was not so, he gave no disturbance by the telling. And thus he marched in the night.

BUT when it was day, he left the *Cadusian* horse with the *Cadusian* foot; because they marched the last, and that they might not march naked without horse. But the rest of the horse he ordered to push forward to the front, because the enemy were before them, and that in case any opposed him, he might meet and engage them with his forces in order under him; and that if any were seen flying, he might be in the greatest readiness for the pursuit. And he had always ready in order, both those that were to pursue, if pursuit were proper, as well as those that were to remain by him; but the general order of the whole he never suffered to be broke. Thus *Cyrus* led the army. He himself was not always in the same station, but riding about here and there, kept viewing, and where any thing was deficient took care of it.

THUS



THUS did *Cyrus's* men march. But a certain person, one of authority and consideration, belonging to *Gadatas's* body of horse, as soon as he saw that he had revolted from the *Assyrian*, concluded that if any misfortune happened to *Gadatas*, he himself might obtain from the *Assyrian* all that belonged to *Gadatas*. So he sent one of the most trusty of his people to the *Assyrian*. And he ordered the man that went, if he found the *Assyrian* army already in *Gadatas's* territory, to tell the *Assyrian*, that if he would form an ambuscade, he might take *Gadatas* and all that were with him. He ordered the man to tell what force *Gadatas* had, and that *Cyrus* did not go with him. And he told him the road that he intended to take. Besides, that he might be the more readily trusted, he sent orders to his servants, to deliver up to the *Assyrian* the fort that he had the possession of in the territory of *Gadatas*, and all that was in it. He said that he would come himself, and if he was able, it should be after he had killed *Gadatas* ; but if he could not do that, it should be to attend upon the *Assyrian* for the future. When the person appointed for this service, having rode with all possible speed, was come to the *Assyrian*, and had declared the purpose of his coming, the *Assyrian*, having heard it, immediately seized the fort ; and having a great force both of horse and chariots, he lay in ambuscade in certain villages that stood very close together. *Gadatas*, as soon as he approached these villages, sent some people to examine and make discovery. The *Assyrian*, when he found these discoverers approaching, ordered two or three chariots and a few horse to quit their post and betake themselves to flight, as being terrified and but few in number. The discoverers themselves as soon as they saw this, pursued ; and made signs to *Gadatas*. He being thus deceived pursued



with all his might. The *Assyrians*, when they thought *Gadatas* within reach of being taken, broke out from their ambuscade. They that were with *Gadatas* seeing this, fled; as was natural for them to do: the others likewise, as was natural, pursued. Upon this, the contriver of this affair against *Gadatas*, struck at him, but missed the mortal blow, hit him upon the shoulder and wounded him; and having done this he made off to join the pursuers. When it was known who he was, he pressing his horse on with a great deal of zeal in company with the *Assyrians*, attended the pursuit with the king. 'Tis plain that upon this occasion, they that had the slowest horses were taken by those that had the fleetest. And all *Gadatas's* horse having before been harrassed by their march, were quite spent. When they saw *Cyrus* advancing with his army, one must needs think they made up to them with as much joy and pleasure, as if they were entering a harbour after a storm.

*CYRUS* was at first astonished, but when he understood what the matter was, he led the army forward in order during the whole time that all these men that faced him were riding up towards him. But when the enemy understanding how things were, turned and fled, then *Cyrus* commanded those that were appointed to that purpose to pursue. He himself followed with the rest, in the manner that he thought proper. Upon this occasion several chariots were taken, some by means of the drivers falling off and this partly by being overturned, partly by other means, and some were taken by being intercepted by the horse: and they killed a great many, and amongst them the man that struck *Gadatas*. Of the *Assyrian* foot that were besieging the fortress of *Gadatas*, some fled to the fort that had revolted from *Gadatas*, and some escaped to a considerable city



city that belonged to the *Assyrian*, and whither the *Assyrian* himself with his chariots and horses fled.

*CYRUS* having done this, retired into the territory of *Gadatas*, and having given his orders to the proper persons upon the subject of the prisoners, he presently went to see how *Gadatas* was of his wound; and as he was going, *Gadatas* met him with his wound already bound up. *Cyrus* was pleased at the sight of him, and said, ‘I was going to see how you did.’ ‘And I, by the gods!’ said *Gadatas*, ‘was going again to view the outward form of the man who has such a soul! You who are not, that I know, in any manner of need of me, who never promised to do these things for me; who, as to your own particular, never received any benefit whatever from me; and only because I was thought to have done a service to your friends, have so affectionately assisted me. So that as far I was concerned myself, I had now perished, but am by your means saved. By the gods! *Cyrus*! if I was the same that I was originally, and were in the condition of having children, I don’t think that I could ever have a son so affectionate to me. For I know this present king of the *Assyrians* particularly to have been the cause of more affliction to his father, than he can be now to you, and many other sons the same.’

To this *Cyrus* said, ‘Now, *Gadatas*! do you admire me, and pass by a much<sup>r</sup> greater wonder!’ ‘And what is that?’ said *Gadatas*. ‘That so many *Persians*,’ said he, ‘have been so diligent in your service, so many *Medes*, so many *Hyrceanians*, as well as all these *Armenians*, *Sacians* and *Cadusi-ans*, here present.’ Then *Gadatas* made this prayer. ‘O *Jove*! may the gods bestow many blessings upon them, but most upon him who is the cause of their being such men! And that we may



‘ handsomely entertain these men that you commend, *Cyrus!* accept these presents of friendship, which are such as I am able to tender you.’ At the same time he brought him great abundance and variety of things, that he might make a sacrifice, if he pleased, or entertain the whole army suitably to things so nobly performed, and so happily succeeding.

MEANWHILE, the *Cadusian* still made the rear-guard, and had no share in the pursuit ; but being desirous to perform something himself that was conspicuous, he made an excursion into the territory of *Babylon*, without communicating it, or saying any thing of it to *Cyrus*. But the *Assyrian*, from that city of his, whither he had fled, and with his army entirely together, and in order, coming up with the horse of the *Cadusians* that were dispersed, as soon as he knew them to be the *Cadusians* alone, attacks them, kills their commander and a great many others, takes a great many horses, and takes from them the booty that they were carrying off. The *Assyrian* then, after having pursued as far as he thought it safe, turned back, and the *Cadusians* made their escape to the camp, where the first of them arrived towards the evening.

CYRUS, as soon as he perceived what had happened, went and met the *Cadusians*, and of all that he saw wounded, some he took and sent to *Gadatas*, that they might be taken care of, and others he lodged together in tents, and took care that they had all things necessary, taking some of the *Persian* alike-honoured to be his assistants. For upon such occasions, men of worth are willing to bestow their joint pains. He evidently appeared to be extremely afflicted ; so that while others were taking their suppers, when the time for it was come ; *Cyrus*, attended by servants and physicians, willingly left no  
one



one neglected, but either saw with his own eyes, or if he could not dispatch all himself he was observed to send others to take that care upon them. Thus then they went to rest.

As soon as it was day, having made proclamation, that the commanders of the other nations, and all the *Cadusians* in general, should assemble; he spoke to this effect.—‘ Friends and allies ! The  
‘ misfortune that has happened to us, is what human nature is liable to ; for in my opinion it is  
‘ not to be wondered at, that being men, we should  
‘ be guilty of error. However, we are not unworthy of reaping some advantage by this accident,  
‘ and that is, to learn, never to separate from the  
‘ whole, a smaller force than that of the enemy.  
‘ Yet I do not say’ said he, ‘ that we are never to  
‘ march, where ’tis proper, with a part even yet  
‘ less than the *Cadusian* marched with, upon this  
‘ occasion. But if a man march, after having concerted matters with another, who is able to support him, he may indeed be deceived ; but he  
‘ that remains behind, by deceiving the enemy,  
‘ may turn them to another part, and out of the  
‘ way of those that have marched off ; ’tis possible  
‘ for him to procure safety to his friends by giving  
‘ other employment to his enemies. And thus he  
‘ that separates, does not become entirely disjoined,  
‘ but remains annexed to the main strength of the  
‘ whole. He, on the other side, that marches off  
‘ without giving any information whither it is that  
‘ he is going, is in the same case, as if he made  
‘ war alone. But,’ said he, ‘ if it please God ! it  
‘ shall not be long before we have our revenge of  
‘ the enemy, in return of this. And as soon as  
‘ ever-you have dined, I will lead you out to the  
‘ place where this affair was transacted ; we will  
‘ bury



‘ bury our dead, and at the same time, if it please  
 ‘ God ! we will let the enemy see men superior to  
 ‘ themselves upon the very place, where they think  
 ‘ they have been victorious ; that they may not look  
 ‘ with pleasure upon that spot of ground where they  
 ‘ butchered our fellow-combatants. If they will  
 ‘ not come out to us, we will burn their villages  
 ‘ and destroy their country, that they may not be  
 ‘ delighted upon viewing what they themselves have  
 ‘ done, but be afflicted at the sight of their own  
 ‘ misfortunes. Let the rest then,’ said he, ‘ go  
 ‘ take their dinners, and do you *Cadusians* ! first  
 ‘ go your ways, and choose you a commander ac-  
 ‘ cording to your usage, who, with the help of the  
 ‘ gods ! and together with us, shall take care of  
 ‘ you in whatever may be wanting to you ; and  
 ‘ when you have made your choice and taken your  
 ‘ dinners, then send the person you have chosen to  
 ‘ me.’

THESE men did accordingly ; and *Cyrus*, when  
 he had led out the army, and placed the person  
 who was chosen by the *Cadusians* in his station, or-  
 dered him to lead his body of men near to himself,  
 ‘ that if we are able,’ said he, ‘ we may recover  
 ‘ the courage of the men.’ So they marched, and  
 coming up to the place, they buried the *Cadusians*,  
 and laid the country waste : and having done this,  
 and supplied themselves with necessaries out of the  
 enemy’s country, they again retreated into the ter-  
 ritory of *Gadatas*.

BUT then considering, that they who had revolt-  
 ed to him, being in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*,  
 would suffer severely, unless he himself was always  
 at hand : he therefore commanded all those of the  
 enemy that he dismissed, to tell the *Assyrian*, that  
 he himself sent a herald to declare to him, ‘ that he  
 ‘ was



‘ was ready to let the labourers that were employ-  
‘ ed in the culture of the lands alone, and not to do  
‘ them any injury ; if he, on the other side, would  
‘ allow such labourers as belonged to those that had  
‘ revolted to himself, to go on with their work ;  
‘ and indeed,’ ‘ said he, ‘ if you are able to hinder  
‘ them, you will hinder but a few, for the land  
‘ that belongs to those that have revolted to me, is  
‘ but little ; and on the other side, I should allow a  
‘ great quantity of land to be cultivated for you.  
‘ Then at the time of gathering the crop, if the  
‘ war continues, he that is superior in arms, in my  
‘ opinion, must gather it. If there be peace, it is  
‘ plain,’ said he, ‘ that it must be you ; but if any  
‘ of my people use arms against you, or any of  
‘ yours against me, upon these we will both of us  
‘ return mutual hostilities if we can.’——Having  
given the herald these orders, he sent him away.

AND when the *Assyrians* had heard these things, they did all that they were able, to persuade the king to yield to them, and to leave as little of war remaining as was possible. The *Assyrian*, either at the persuasion of those of his own nation, or inclined to it himself, consented. And agreements were made, That there should be peace to those that were employed in labour, and war to those that bore arms. These things did *Cyrus* effect with respect to the labouring people. But the pastures of their cattle, he ordered his own friends to settle, if they thought fit, within the extent of their own power, and to make prey upon the enemy wherever they were able, that the service might be more agreeable to his allies, for the dangers were the same, even without their seizing necessaries for their subsistence, and the maintaining themselves upon the enemy, seemed to make the service the lighter.

BUT when *Cyrus* was now preparing to be gone, *Gadatas* came to him, having collected presents of  
all



all kinds, and in great abundance, as arising from a very great estate, and having taken a great many horses from his own horsemen that he mistrusted upon the account of the late contrivance against him : and when he accosted him, he spoke thus—  
 ‘ I bring you these things, *Cyrus*, at this time, that  
 ‘ you may make present use of them in case you  
 ‘ want them. And count upon it,’ said he, ‘ that  
 ‘ all things else that belong to me are yours. For  
 ‘ it is impossible for me to have one descended from  
 ‘ myself to leave my estate to, but my race and  
 ‘ name,’ said he, ‘ must of necessity be extinguish-  
 ‘ ed with myself when I die. And this I suffer,  
 ‘ *Cyrus*,’ said he, ‘ (I swear it to you, by the gods!  
 ‘ who see all things, and hear all things !) without  
 ‘ having been guilty of any thing unjust, or base,  
 ‘ either in word or deed.’—At the same time that he  
 said this, he burst into tears at his unhappy fate,  
 and it was not in his power to say more.

*CYRUS* having heard this, pitied him for his misfortune, and spoke thus.—‘ The horses,’ said he,  
 ‘ I accept. For I shall do you service by giv-  
 ‘ ing them to men better affected to you, it  
 ‘ seems, than they who had them before ; and shall  
 ‘ fill up the *Persian* body of horse to ten thousand  
 ‘ men, a thing that I have long desired ; the rest of  
 ‘ your valuable effects, do you take away and keep,  
 ‘ ’till such time as you see me in a condition not to  
 ‘ be outdone by you in presents ; for if you part  
 ‘ with me, and your presents amount to more than  
 ‘ you receive at my hands, I know not how it is  
 ‘ possible for me not to be quite ashamed.’

To this *Gadatas* said, ‘ But I trust them to you,  
 ‘ for I see your temper. As to the keeping of  
 ‘ them myself, pray see whether I am fit for it.  
 ‘ For while we were friends with the *Assyrian*, my  
 ‘ father’s estate seemed to be the noblest that could  
 ‘ be ;



‘ be ; for being near to our capital city *Babylon*,  
‘ we enjoyed all the advantages that we could possi-  
‘ bly be supplied with from that great city ; and as  
‘ often as we were disturbed with the crowd and  
‘ hurry, by retiring hither to our home, we got  
‘ out of the way of it. But now that we are be-  
‘ come enemies, it is plain that when you are gone,  
‘ both we ourselves, and our whole family and ~~es-~~  
‘ tate, shall have contrivances formed against us.  
‘ We shall in my opinion live very miserably, both  
‘ by having our enemies just by us, and by seeing  
‘ them superior to ourselves. Perhaps you will  
‘ presently therefore say, and why did not I consider  
‘ this before I revolted ? Why, because, *Cyrus*,  
‘ by means of the injuries I had received, and the  
‘ anger I was in, ‘my soul never dwelt upon the  
‘ consideration of what was safest for me ; but was  
‘ always big with the thought, whether it would be  
‘ ever in my power to take my revenge upon this  
‘ enemy both to the gods and men ! who passes his  
‘ days in hatred, and that, not to the man that  
‘ may have done him an injury, but to any one that  
‘ he suspects to be a better man than himself ! And  
‘ this wicked wretch therefore in my opinion will  
‘ make use of such assistants as are all more wicked  
‘ than himself ! Or if there be any that may appear  
‘ to be better than he, take courage, *Cyrus*,’ said  
he, ‘ you will not be under any necessity to engage  
‘ against any such men of worth ; but he himself  
‘ will be sufficient to carry on this work till he has  
‘ taken off every better man than himself ! And yet  
‘ distressing me, I am of opinion that with his vil-  
‘ lains he will easily get the better !’

IN all this, *Cyrus* who heard it, was of opinion,  
that the man said what was worthy of his attention  
and care ; and he presently said, ‘ And have not  
‘ you therefore strengthened your fortrefs with a  
‘ garrison,



‘ garrison, that you may make use of it with safety when you go thither ? And as to yourself, you accompany us in the service, that if the gods please to be with us as now they are, he may be in fear of you, and not you of him. Take of what belongs to you whatever you like to see about you, and of your people take whoever you like to converse with, and march with me. You will be in my opinion extremely useful to me, and I will endeavour to be as useful to you as I can ?’

*GADATAS* hearing this, recovered himself and said : ‘ Shall I be able,’ said he, ‘ to put up all and be ready before you march away ?’ for,’ said he, ‘ I would willingly carry my mother with me.’ ‘ Yes, by *Jove* !’ said he, ‘ you will be ready time enough ; for I will wait, ’till you say that all is well.’——So *Gadatas* going his way, settled, in concert with *Cyrus*, garrisons in the several fortresses he had made : he packed up all kinds of things, enough to furnish a very great house in a handsome manner. He took with him from amongst those he confided in, such whose company he was pleased with ; and many of those too that he distrusted, obliging some of them to take their wives, and some their sisters with them, that by this means he might keep them as it were in fetters.

*CYRUS* himself marched, and among the rest of those that were about him, he kept *Gadatas* to inform him about the ways and the waters, about forage and provisions, that he might carry on the service with the greatest plenty of all things. But when in the course of his march, he got sight of the city of *Babylon*, and fancied that the way he was going led him just under the walls of the place, he called *Gobrias* and *Gadatas*, and asked if there was any other way, that he might not lead the army near to the walls.

THEN



THEN *Gobrias* spoke. ‘ My sovereign, there are  
‘ many ways. But I thought,’ said he, ‘ that you  
‘ desired to lead on as near to the city as possible,  
‘ that you might shew them the army, and let them  
‘ see that you have now a great and noble one ; be-  
‘ cause when you had a less, you marched up to  
‘ the walls and they saw us when we were not very  
‘ numerous. And now, tho’ the *Assyrian* be pre-  
‘ pared, as he told you he would be prepared to  
‘ give you battle ; I know, that when he sees your  
‘ strength, his preparations will not appear to him  
‘ to be sufficient.’

CYRUS to this said, ‘ You seem to me, *Gobrias*,  
‘ to wonder that when I come with a less army, I  
‘ led up to the very walls ; but that now with a  
‘ greater, I have no mind to march the army un-  
‘ der them ; but make no wonder of this,’ said he,  
‘ for to lead up to a place, and to march by it, is  
‘ not the same thing. All men lead up in such an  
‘ orders as they think is best for them to engage in.  
‘ And people that are wise, retreat so as to go off  
‘ in the safest manner and not in the quickest. But  
‘ it is necessary to march by with the carriages  
‘ extended in length, and with the beasts of bur-  
‘ then, and those that are concerned in the baggage,  
‘ all in loose order ; all this must be covered by the  
‘ soldiers that bear arms, and the baggage-train  
‘ must in no part appear to the enemy naked of  
‘ arms ; and marching in this manner, the strength  
‘ of the army must of necessity be extended into a  
‘ thin and weak order. If then they have a mind  
‘ from within the walls to make an attack in a close  
‘ firm body, wherever they close in, they do it with  
‘ a strength much superior to those that are upon  
‘ the march, and to men that are marching in train  
‘ length, the proper helps are at a great distance ;  
‘ but to those that march out from within their  
‘ walls,



‘ walls, the distance is little that they have either to  
 ‘ march up to the enemy that is at hand, or to re-  
 ‘ treat back again. But if we pass by at no less a dis-  
 ‘ tance than so as that they may just see us, and if we  
 ‘ march extended as we now are, they will see the  
 ‘ multitude that we are, and every multitude by  
 ‘ means of arms interwoven among them, appears  
 ‘ terrible. If they really do march up to us in any  
 ‘ part, by our seeing them at a considerable distance,  
 ‘ we shall not be taken unprepared. And then, my  
 ‘ friends,’ said he, ‘ they will the rather avoid at-  
 ‘ tacking us, when they are obliged to march a  
 ‘ great distance from their walls, unless they think  
 ‘ themselves in the whole superior to us, for they  
 ‘ will have cause to be in fear for their retreat.’

WHEN he had said this, the persons present were of opinion that he said right, and *Gobrias* led the way as he had directed him. And while the army was moving on by the city, that part of it that was left behind, he always made the strongest, and in that manner retreated.

WHEN marching thus the following days, he reached the borders of the *Assyrians* and *Medes* from whence he came before, and where there were three forts belonging to the *Assyrians*; the weakest of these he attacked and took by force, and two of them, *Cyrus* by terror, and *Gadatas* by persuasion, prevailed with the garrisons to give up. When he had done this, he sent to *Cyaxares*, and by message, desired him to come to the army, that they might consult what use to make of [the forts they had taken. And after having taken a view of the army, he might in the whole of their affairs, advise what he thought proper to be done for the future. And if he orders it, said he, tell him that I will come and encamp with him. The messenger, in order to deliver this message went his way, and upon this Cy-



*rus* ordered *Gadatas* to furnish out the *Assyrian's* tent that the *Medes* had chosen for *Cyaxares*, and this in the handsomest manner ; and not only with all the other furniture that it was provided with, but he ordered him to introduce the two women into that apartment of the tent that belonged to the women, and together with them, the women-musicians that had been chosen out for *Cyaxares*. These men did as they were ordered. But when he that was sent to *Cyaxares* had delivered his message, *Cyaxares* having heard him, determined it to be best that the army should remain upon the borders ; for the *Persians* that *Cyrus* had sent for were come, and they were forty thousand archers and shield-men. Therefore when he saw that these men did prejudice in many ways to the *Median* territory, he thought it better to get rid of these, rather than admit another multitude. And that *Persian* who commanded the army having enquired from *Cyaxares*, according to the orders of *Cyrus*, whether he had any service for the army, when he told him that he had none, and when he heard that *Cyrus* was at hand, upon that very day marched, and conducted the army to him. The next day *Cyaxares* marched with the *Median* horse that remained with him. And as soon as *Cyrus* perceived him approaching, then taking the *Persian* horse, who were now very numerous, all the *Medes*, *Armenians* and *Hyrceanians*, and of all the other allies such as were the best horsed and armed, he met him, and shewed *Cyaxares* his force.

*CYAXARES*, when he saw a great many brave men attending *Cyrus*, and but a small company attending upon himself, and those but of little value, thought it mean and dishonourable to him, and was seized with a violent concern. But when *Cyrus*, alighting from his horse, came up to him, as intend-



‘ walls, the distance is little that they have either to  
 ‘ march up to the enemy that is at hand; or to re-  
 ‘ treat back again. But if we pass by at no less a dis-  
 ‘ tance than so as that they may just see us, and if we  
 ‘ march extended as we now are, they will see the  
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WHEN he had said this, the persons present were of opinion that he said right, and *Gobrias* led the way as he had directed him. And while the army was moving on by the city, that part of it that was left behind, he always made the strongest, and in that manner retreated.

WHEN marching thus the following days, he reached the borders of the *Assyrians* and *Medes* from whence he came before, and where there were three forts belonging to the *Assyrians*; the weakest of these he attacked and took by force, and two of them, *Cyrus* by terror, and *Gadatas* by persuasion, prevailed with the garrisons to give up. When he had done this, he sent to *Cyaxares*, and by message, desired him to come to the army, that they might consult what use to make of [the forts they had taken. And after having taken a view of the army, he might in the whole of their affairs, advise what he thought proper to be done for the future. And if he orders it, said he, tell him that I will come and encamp with him. The messenger, in order to deliver this message went his way, and upon this Cy-



*rus* ordered *Gadatas* to furnish out the *Assyrian's* tent that the *Medes* had chosen for *Cyaxares*, and this in the handsomest manner ; and not only with all the other furniture that it was provided with, but he ordered him to introduce the two women into that apartment of the tent that belonged to the women, and together with them, the women-musicians that had been chosen out for *Cyaxares*. These men did as they were ordered. But when he that was sent to *Cyaxares* had delivered his message, *Cyaxares* having heard him, determined it to be best that the army should remain upon the borders ; for the *Persians* that *Cyrus* had sent for were come, and they were forty thousand archers and shield-men. Therefore when he saw that these men did prejudice in many ways to the *Median* territory, he thought it better to get rid of these, rather than admit another multitude. And that *Persian* who commanded the army having enquired from *Cyaxares*, according to the orders of *Cyrus*, whether he had any service for the army, when he told him that he had none, and when he heard that *Cyrus* was at hand, upon that very day marched, and conducted the army to him. The next day *Cyaxares* marched with the *Median* horse that remained with him. And as soon as *Cyrus* perceived him approaching, then taking the *Persian* horse, who were now very numerous, all the *Medes*, *Armenians* and *Hyrceanians*, and of all the other allies such as were the best horsed and armed, he met him, and shewed *Cyaxares* his force.

*CYAXARES*, when he saw a great many brave men attending *Cyrus*, and but a small company attending upon himself, and those but of little value, thought it mean and dishonourable to him, and was seized with a violent concern. But when *Cyrus*, alighting from his horse, came up to him, as intend-



ing to kiss him in the customary manner, *Cyaxares* likewise alighted but turned from him, refused to kiss him, and burst openly into tears. Upon this *Cyrus* ordered all the rest that were there to retire and wait. He himself taking *Cyaxares* by the right hand, and conducting him out of the road, under certain palm-trees, he ordered some *Median* quilts to be laid for him, and making him sit down, he sat himself down by him, and asked him thus.

‘ O uncle,’ said he, ‘ tell me, I beg you, by all  
 ‘ the gods ! what are you angry with me for ? And  
 ‘ what ill thing have you discovered, that you take  
 ‘ thus amiss ?’—Then *Cyaxares* answered in this  
 ‘ manner. ‘ It is, *Cyrus*,’ said he, ‘ that I, who as  
 ‘ far the memory of man can reach, am reckoned  
 ‘ to be sprung from a long train of ancestors, and  
 ‘ from a father who was a king, and who am my-  
 ‘ self accounted a king, should see myself marching  
 ‘ thus meanly and contemptibly ; and see you with  
 ‘ my attendants, and with other forces appear here  
 ‘ great and conspicuous ! I should think it hard to suf-  
 ‘ fer this treatment at the hands of enemies, and much  
 ‘ harder, O *Jove* ! to suffer it at the hands of those  
 ‘ that I ought least to have it from ! For I think, I  
 ‘ could sink down under the earth ten times over  
 ‘ with more satisfaction, than be seen in this mean  
 ‘ condition, and see my own people thus contemn-  
 ‘ ing and laughing at me ! For I am not ignorant,  
 ‘ not only, that you are more considerable than  
 ‘ myself, but that my own slaves are above me in  
 ‘ power, dare to oppose my pleasure, and are so set  
 ‘ up as to be rather able to do me mischief, than  
 ‘ liable to suffer it at my hands.’—And in saying  
 this, he was still overwhelmed in tears, so that he  
 drew down a flood of tears into the eyes of  
*Cyrus*.

BUT



BUT *Cyrus* pausing a little, spoke to this effect.  
—— ‘ In all this, said he *Cyaxares*, you neither  
‘ say true nor judge right. If you think that the  
‘ *Medes*, by my presence are set upon such a foot  
‘ as to be able to do you mischief, I do not won-  
‘ der that you are enraged and terrified. But,  
‘ whether it be justly or unjustly that you are of-  
‘ fended at them, this I shall pass by ; for I know  
‘ you must take it ill to hear me making their  
‘ apology. But for a ruler to take offence at all  
‘ his people at once, this I take to be an error.  
‘ For by striking terror into a multitude, of ne-  
‘ cessity that multitude must be made one’s ene-  
‘ mies, and by taking offence at them all together,  
‘ they are inspired with unity of sentiments. Upon  
‘ this account, be it known to you, it was, that I  
‘ would not send these men away to you without  
‘ me, being afraid least something might happen  
‘ by means of your anger, that might have afflicted  
‘ us all. By the assistance of the gods, therefore,  
‘ while I am present, these things may be safely  
‘ composed. But that you should think yourself  
‘ injured by me, at this ; I am very much con-  
‘ cerned, that while I have been doing all that is in  
‘ my power to do all possible service to my friends,  
‘ I am then thought to have done the quite con-  
‘ trary. But don’t let us thus charge one another  
‘ at random, but if possible let us consider clear-  
‘ ly what the injury is that I have done. I will  
‘ state then an agreement for us to come to, and  
‘ such as is the justest that can be, between friends.  
‘ If I should appear to have done you mischief, I  
‘ will confess that I have wronged you ; but if I  
‘ neither appear to have done you any harm, nor  
‘ to have intended it, will not you then confess  
‘ that you have not been wronged by me ?’ ‘ I  
‘ must, said he, of necessity.’ ‘ If I plainly ap-  
‘ pear



‘pear to have done you service, and to have been  
 ‘zealous to do you all the service that I was able,  
 ‘shall not I deserve your commendation rather than  
 ‘your reproach?’ ‘It is but just, said he.’ ‘Come  
 ‘on then, said *Cyrus*, let us consider all the things  
 ‘that I have done, one by one, for by this it will  
 ‘appear the most evidently, which was good and  
 ‘which was ill. We will take it from the begin-  
 ‘ning of this affair, if this appear to you to be suf-  
 ‘ficient. When you perceived that the enemy  
 ‘were assembling their forces, and were about ma-  
 ‘king an attempt upon you, and upon your coun-  
 ‘try, you then sent immediately to the public  
 ‘council of *Persia*, begging assistance, and to me in  
 ‘particular, desiring me to endeavour if any *Per-*  
 ‘*sians* came to you, to come as their commander.  
 ‘Was not I by you persuaded to this? Did not I  
 ‘come? And bring you as many and as brave  
 ‘men as I was able?’ ‘You did come, said  
 ‘he.’ ‘First therefore, said he, in this particular  
 ‘tell me, whether you account it an injury or a be-  
 ‘nefit that I did you.’—— ‘It is plain, said *Cyaxa-*  
 ‘*res*, that in this you did what was a benefit to me.’  
 ‘Well then, said he, when the enemies  
 ‘advanced, and we were to engage them, did you  
 ‘perceive that upon this occasion, I spared any pains  
 ‘or that I balked any danger.’ ‘No, by *Jove*!  
 ‘said he, not at all.’ ‘And then, when, with the as-  
 ‘sistance of the gods, we gained our victory, and  
 ‘the enemy retreated, I exhorted you, that we  
 ‘might jointly pursue them, take our joint revenge  
 ‘upon them, and if any thing good or ill should  
 ‘befal us, that we might jointly share it. And can  
 ‘you charge me with any thing of ambition and  
 ‘desire of power in any of these things?’-----To  
 this *Cyaxares* was silent; and *Cyrus* again spoke  
 in this manner. ‘Since it is your pleasure, to be  
 ‘silent in this, rather than to give me a reply, tell  
 ‘me



‘ me then, said he, whether you think yourself injured, because that when you were of opinion that it was not safe to pursue, I did not allow you to share in the danger, but only desired you to send some of your horse? For if I wronged you in asking this, especially after I had given myself up to you, as an assistant and ally, let this, said he, be demonstrated by yourself.’-----When *Cyaxares* kept himself silent to this too, ‘ But, said he, if you will give me no answer here neither, then tell me this : whether I did you any wrong, when you gave me for answer, that upon your observing the *Medes* to be indulging themselves in pleasure, you would not put a stop to it, and oblige them to march and run themselves into danger, and whether you think that I put a hardship upon you, when, avoiding all anger and resentment to you, I then again upon that, asked you a thing, than which I knew there was nothing that you could more easily grant, and that nothing more easy could possibly be enjoined the *Medes*? For I asked you, only to allow any of them that would, to follow me. And when I had obtained this from you, there was nothing left but to persuade them. I went to them, I persuaded them, and those that I prevailed with I took, and marched with them at your allowance. If you reckon this to be deserving of blame, then, to take from you what you yourself grant, is not, it seems, a thing void of blame. Thus then we set forward. When we were marched, what was there that we did, that was not apparent? Was not the camp of the enemy taken? Were there not many of those that made war upon you, killed; and of those that remained alive, were there not a great many stript of their arms? and a great many of their horses? The fortunes and effects of those that plundered and ravaged yours

Q 3

‘ before,



‘ before, you see now taken and ravaged by your  
 ‘ friends. Some of them belong to you, and  
 ‘ others of them to those that are under your do-  
 ‘ minion. But what is the greatest and noblest  
 ‘ thing, and above all, is, that you see your own  
 ‘ territory enlarged, and that of your enemies di-  
 ‘ minished, and some forts that were possessed by  
 ‘ the enemy, and some of your own that had been  
 ‘ taken and annexed to the *Assyrian* dominion, now,  
 ‘ on the contrary, you see yielded to you. Whe-  
 ‘ ther any of these things be good or ill, I cannot  
 ‘ say, that I desire to learn. But nothing hinders  
 ‘ me from hearing what your opinion is concerning  
 ‘ them, and do you tell it me.’

CYRUS having said this, was silent and wait-  
 ed the reply.

AND *Cyaxares* spoke thus in answer. ‘ Indeed,  
 ‘ *Cyrus*, I don’t know how one can say that those  
 ‘ things you have performed are ill, but be it known  
 ‘ to you, said he, that these good things are of  
 ‘ such a kind, as the more they appear to be in  
 ‘ number, so much the more are they burdensome  
 ‘ upon me. I should rather choose to enlarge your  
 ‘ territory by my forces, than see mine thus en-  
 ‘ larged by yours. For these things, to you that  
 ‘ do them are glorious; but to me, they are in  
 ‘ some sort disgraceful. And I am of opinion,  
 ‘ that I should be better pleased to bestow of these  
 ‘ rich effects upon you, than to receive from you  
 ‘ these things that you now present me with: for I  
 ‘ perceive myself enriched by you with things that  
 ‘ make me the poorer; and I believe I should be  
 ‘ less grieved to see my subjects in some degree in-  
 ‘ jured by you, than I am now to see them receiv-  
 ‘ ing great advantages at your hands. If I appear  
 ‘ to you to think unreasonably in this, do not confi-  
 ‘ der these things, as in my case, but turn the ta-  
 ‘ bles, and make the case your own. And then,’  
 said



faid he, ‘ consider, that in the case of dogs that  
‘ you maintained as a guard and protection to you,  
‘ and yours ; supposing any other person should  
‘ make his court to them, and should make them  
‘ better acquainted with himself than with you :  
‘ whether you should be pleased with this courtship  
‘ and service. But if this appear to you to be but  
‘ an inconsiderable matter, then consider this. You  
‘ have servants that you have acquired as guards to  
‘ you and for service : If any one should manage  
‘ these in such a manner, as that they should be  
‘ more willing to serve him than to serve you, should  
‘ you think yourself obliged to this man in return  
‘ of this benefit ? Then in another concern, that  
‘ men’s affections are greatly engaged in, and that  
‘ they cultivate in the most intimate manner ; if  
‘ if any one should make such court to your wife,  
‘ as to make her love him better than she loved  
‘ you, should you be delighted with this benefit ?  
‘ I believe far from it,’ said he, ‘ nay I know that  
‘ in doing this, he would do you the greatest of in-  
‘ juries. But that I may mention what is most ap-  
‘ plicable to my own concern : If any one should  
‘ make such court to the *Persians* that you have  
‘ conducted hither, as should make it more agreea-  
‘ ble to them to follow him, than to follow you,  
‘ should you think this man your friend ? I believe  
‘ you would not, but you would rather think him  
‘ yet more your enemy, than if he killed you a  
‘ great many of them. Well then ! suppose any  
‘ friend of yours, upon your saying to him in a  
‘ friendly way, take as much of what belongs to  
‘ me as you please, should upon hearing this, go  
‘ his way, take all that he was able and enrich him-  
‘ self, with what belonged to you, and that you  
‘ meanwhile, should not have wherewithal to supply  
‘ your own uses in a very moderate way ; could  
‘ you possibly think such a one a blameless, unexcep-  
‘ tionable



' tionable friend ? Now, *Cyrus*, I take myself to  
 ' have had from you, if not the same usage, yet  
 ' such as is very like it. You say true, that when  
 ' I bid you carry off those that were willing to go,  
 ' you took my whole force, went off with them,  
 ' and left me destitute : And now you bring me  
 ' things that you have taken with my own force ;  
 ' and with my own force you enlarge my territory.  
 ' But I, as not having any hand in obtaining these  
 ' advantages, look as if I gave up myself, like a  
 ' woman, to be served by others as well as by my  
 ' own subjects ; for you appear to be the man, and  
 ' I to be unworthy of rule, and do you take these  
 ' things, *Cyrus*, to be benefits ? Be it known to you,  
 ' if you had any concern for me, there's nothing  
 ' you would be so careful not to rob me of, as of  
 ' my dignity and honour, what advantage is it to  
 ' me, to have my land extended and myself con-  
 ' temned ! I have dominion over the *Medes*, not by  
 ' being really the best of them all, but by means of  
 ' their thinking us to be in all respects superior to  
 ' themselves.'——

HERE *Cyrus* took up the discourse, while *Cyaxa-*  
*res* was yet speaking, and said, ' I beg you, uncle,  
 ' said he, by all the gods ! if I ever before did any  
 ' thing that was agreeable to you, gratify me now  
 ' in the things that I shall ask of you. Give over  
 ' blaming me at this time ; and when you have had  
 ' experience of us, how we are affected towards  
 ' you ; if the things that have been done, appear  
 ' done for your service, give me your embraces in  
 ' return of the affection I have for you : and think  
 ' that I have been of service to you. If things ap-  
 ' pear otherwise, then blame me.'

' Perhaps indeed, said *Cyaxares*, you say right !  
 ' Well then ! said *Cyrus*, shall I kiss you ?' ' if you  
 ' please, said he. ' And will you not turn from me,  
 ' as



‘ as you did just now ? I will not,’ said he.—  
Then he kissed him.

As soon as this was seen by the *Medes*, and *Persians*, and many others, (for they were all under concern about the issue of this affair) they all presently became chearful and pleased.

THEN *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus* mounting their horses, led the way before ; The *Medes* followed after *Cyaxares*, (for *Cyrus* made a sign to them to do so) and the *Persians* followed *Cyrus* ; and after these, followed the rest. When they came to the camp, and had lodged *Cyaxares* in the tent that was furnished for him ; they that were appointed to that service prepared all things fitting for him. And during the time that *Cyaxares* was at leisure before supper, the *Medes* went to him, some of themselves, but most of them in consequence of directions from *Cyrus* ; and they brought him presents, one, a beautiful cup-bearer, another an excellent cook, another a baker, another a musician, one brought him cups, and another a fine habit. And almost every one presented him with something out of what they had taken ; so that *Cyaxares* changed his opinion, and no longer thought either that *Cyrus* had alienated these men from him, or that the *Medes* were less observant of him than before.

WHEN the time of supper came, *Cyaxares* invited *Cyrus*, and desired that since he had not seen him of some time, he would sup with him. —

But *Cyrus* said,----- ‘ I beg, *Cyaxares*, that you  
‘ would not bid me do this. Do not you observe,  
‘ that all those that are here with us, attend here at  
‘ our instigation ? It would not therefore be well in  
‘ me to appear negligent of them, and mindful of  
‘ my own pleasure. When soldiers think them-  
‘ selves neglected, the best of them become much  
‘ more dejected, and the worst of them much more  
‘ insolent



‘ insolent. But do you, especially now after you  
 ‘ have had a long journey, take your supper. And  
 ‘ if people come to pay you respect, receive them  
 ‘ kindly and entertain them well, that they like-  
 ‘ wise may encourage you. ; I will go my ways, and  
 ‘ apply myself to what I tell you. To-morrow,  
 ‘ said he, in the morning, all the proper persons  
 ‘ shall attend here at your doors, that we may  
 ‘ consult together, what we are to do henceforward.  
 ‘ And you being yourself present, will propose to  
 ‘ us, whether it be thought fit to go on with the  
 ‘ war : or whether it be now the proper time to se-  
 ‘ parate the army.’---Upon this *Cyaxares* went to  
 supper.

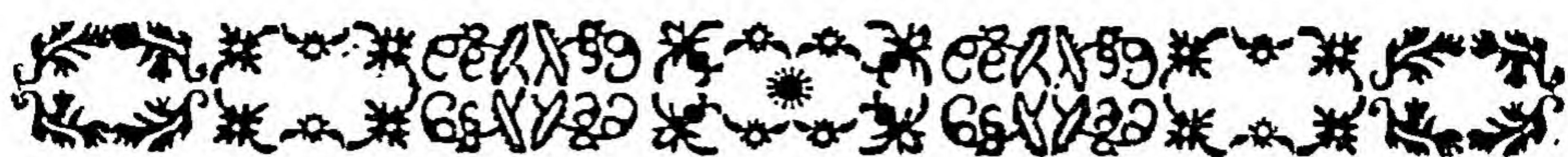
AND *Cyrus* assembling such of his friends as were  
 most able to judge what was fit to be done upon  
 any occasion, and to assist him in the execution of  
 ‘ it, spoke to this effect.-- --‘ The things that we  
 ‘ at first wished for, my friends, we now, with the  
 ‘ assistance of the gods ! have obtained ; for where-  
 ‘ ever we march, we are masters of the country,  
 ‘ we see our enemies weakened, and ourselves in-  
 ‘ creased in numbers and strength. And if they  
 ‘ who are now our allies will still continue with us,  
 ‘ we shall be much more able to succeed in our af-  
 ‘ fairs, whether we have occasion to act by force,  
 ‘ or whether it be proper to proceed by persuasion ;  
 ‘ therefore that as many of our allies, as is possible,  
 ‘ may be inclined to stay, is not more my business  
 ‘ to effect than it is yours. But as, when fighting  
 ‘ is necessary, he that subdues the greatest numbers,  
 ‘ will be accounted the most vigorous ; so where  
 ‘ counsel is necessary, he that makes the greatest  
 ‘ numbers to be of his opinion, ought justly  
 ‘ to be esteemed the most eloquent and best  
 ‘ skilled in affairs. However, do not be at  
 ‘ pains, as if you were to shew us what sort  
 ‘ of



‘ of discourse. you made use of to every one ;  
‘ but that the people you prevail with may  
‘ shew it in their actions, let this be your bu-  
‘ siness to effect. And that the soldiers, while  
‘ they consult about the carrying on of the war,  
‘ shall be supplied with all things necessary and  
‘ fit in as great plenty as I am able ; this I will  
‘ endeavour to take care of.’

*CYRO-*





*CYRROPÆDIA:*  
OR, THE  
INSTITUTION  
OF  
*CYRUS.*

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By *XENOPHON.*

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BOOK VI.

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AVING passed the day in this manner, and having taken their suppers, they went to rest. The next day in the morning, all the allies came to the doors of *Cyaxares*; and while *Cyaxares* (who had heard that there was a great multitude of people at his doors) was setting himself out, *Cyrus's* friends presented to him several people who begged him to stay; some presented the *Cadusians*, some the *Hyrceanians*. One presented *Gobrias*, and another the *Sacian*; and *Hystaspes* presented the eunuch *Gadatas*, who begged *Cyrus* to stay. Here *Cyrus*, who knew before that *Gadatas* had been almost killed with fear, lest the army should



should be separated, laughed and spoke thus.—

‘ O *Gadatas*,’ said he, ‘ it is plain that you have been  
‘ persuaded by *Hystaspes* here to be of the opinion  
‘ you express.’ Then *Gadatas*, lifting up his hands  
to heaven, swore, that ‘ indeed he was not persuad-  
‘ ed by *Hystaspes* to be of his opinion ! but I know,’  
said he, ‘ that if you depart, my affairs fall entirely  
‘ to ruin. Upon this account,’ said he, ‘ I came  
‘ myself to this man and asked him, whether he  
‘ knew what your opinion was concerning the sepa-  
‘ ration of the army.’ Then *Cyrus* said, ‘ It seems  
‘ then that I accuse *Hystaspes* unjustly.’——Then  
*Hystaspes* spoke, ‘ By *Jove* ! *Cyrus* !’ said he, ‘ un-  
‘ justly indeed ! because I gave *Gadatas* for answer,  
‘ that it was impossible for you to stay, and told  
‘ him that your father had sent for you.’ ‘ What !’  
said *Cyrus*, ‘ durst you assert this whether I would  
‘ or no ?’ ‘ Yes indeed,’ said he, ‘ for I see you are  
‘ exceedingly desirous to be making a progress  
‘ about among the *Persians* to be seen, and to shew  
‘ your father how you performed every thing.’  
Then *Cyrus* said, ‘ And are not you desirous to go  
‘ home.’ ‘ No by *Jove* !’ said *Hystaspes*, ‘ nor will  
‘ I go ; but stay and discharge my duty as a com-  
‘ mander, till I make *Gadatas* here master of the  
‘ *Assyrian*.’——Thus did these men, with a mix-  
ture of seriousness, jest with each other.

THEN *Cyaxares* dressed in a magnificent manner,  
came out and sat himself on a *Median* throne ; and  
when all the proper persons were met, and silence  
made, *Cyaxares* spoke thus——‘ Friends and allies !  
‘ since I am here present, and a man older man than  
‘ *Cyrus*, it is proper for me perhaps to begin the  
‘ discourse : It appears therefore to me, that now  
‘ is the time to debate whether it be thought proper  
‘ to go on with the war, or to separate the army.  
‘ Therefore,’ said he, ‘ let some body speak what  
‘ his



his opinion is, concerning this affair. Upon this the *Hyrceanian* first spoke, ‘ Friends and allies ! I don’t at all know whether words be necessary where facts themselves declare what is best to be done ; for we all know that by keeping together, we do more mischief to our enemies than we suffer from them ; and when we are afunder, they deal by us as is most agreeable to them, and most grievous to us.’——After him spoke the *Cadusian* : ‘ What can we say,’ said he, ‘ concerning a general departure and separation, when it is not for our interest to separate, even while we are engaged in the service ? Accordingly we not long ago undertook a piece of service separate from the rest of our body, and paid for it, as you all know.

AFTER him, *Artabazus*, he who had said that he was related to *Cyrus*, spoke thus : *Cyaxares*,’ said he, ‘ thus much I differ in my opinion from those who spoke before. They say, that we ought to proceed in the war, remaining here together ; and I say that we were in war when we were at home, for I was frequently forced to run to the relief of our own country, when the enemies were plundering what belonged to us ; frequently I had business upon my hands, with respect to our fortresses that the enemies were said to have formed designs upon ; and I was continually in fear, and kept myself upon my guard. All this I did, and was all this while upon expence out of my own stock ; but now I am in possession of the fortresses of the enemy, I am not in fear of them : I feast upon what belongs to them, and I drink at the enemies expence ; therefore as being in one case at war, and in the other case as at a festival, I am not of opinion to dissolve this public assembly.’——After him spoke *Gobrias* ; ‘ Friends and allies, thus far I applaud the faith of *Cyrus* ; for he has been  
false



‘ false in nothing that he has promised. But if he  
‘ quit the country, it is plain that the *Assyrian* will  
‘ be at rest, and escape the punishment due to him;  
‘ for the injuries that he endeavoured to do you,  
‘ and that he has in fact done me; and I on my  
‘ side shall again suffer punishment at his hands,  
‘ and now, it will be, for having been a friend to  
‘ you.’

AFTER all these, *Cyrus* spoke. ‘ Nor am I igno-  
‘ rant, friends! that if we separate the army, our  
‘ own affairs will sink, and the affairs of the enemy  
‘ will rise again: for as many of them as have had  
‘ their arms taken from them, will make others  
‘ out of hand; they that have lost their horses, will  
‘ immediately get others; in the room of those  
‘ men that are killed, others will grow up and suc-  
‘ ceed them; so that it will not be wondered at, if  
‘ they become able to give us disturbance again  
‘ very soon.—Why then did I desire *Cyaxares* to  
‘ propose the debate upon the separation of the ar-  
‘ my?—Be it known to you,’ said he, ‘ it was, be-  
‘ cause I was in fear for the future. For I perceive  
‘ certain adversaries advancing upon us, that, if we  
‘ go on with the war upon the foot we now stand,  
‘ we shall not be able to struggle with. For the  
‘ winter is coming on, and if we have roofs to co-  
‘ ver our own heads, we have them not, by *Jove*!  
‘ for our horses, nor for our servants, nor for the  
‘ common soldiers; and without these we cannot  
‘ proceed in the service. The provisions wherever  
‘ we have come, have been consumed by ourselves,  
‘ and where we have not been; there, for fear of  
‘ us, they have been carried off, and secured in  
‘ fortresses; so that the enemies have them, and  
‘ we are not able to procure them. And who is  
‘ there that has bravery and vigour enough to go on  
‘ with the service, and struggle at the same time  
‘ with



' with hunger and cold? Therefore, if we are to con-  
 ' tinue the war upon these terms, I say, that we  
 ' ought rather to separate the army of our own ac-  
 ' cord, than be driven away against our wills by  
 ' distress, and by not knowing what to do. But if  
 ' we have a mind to go on still with the war, I say  
 ' we ought to do this. We should endeavour as  
 ' soon as possible to take from the enemy as many  
 ' of their strong places as we are able, and to erect  
 ' as many places of strength as we can for ourselves.  
 ' For if this be done, then they will have provisions  
 ' in the greatest plenty, who can take and secure the  
 ' most of them, and they that are inferior in strength  
 ' will be besieged. But now we are just in the same  
 ' case with those that are upon a voyage at sea; for  
 ' the part that they have sailed over, they do not  
 ' leave so as to make it safer for them, than the  
 ' other part they have not sailed: But if we have  
 ' fortresses, these will alienate the territory from the  
 ' enemy, and all things will be with us serene and  
 ' quiet. As for what some of you may be appre-  
 ' hensive of in case you are obliged to keep garri-  
 ' son at a distance from your own territory, do not  
 ' let this be any concern to you; for we will take  
 ' take upon us to guard those parts that are the  
 ' nearest to the enemy, since we are at a great dis-  
 ' tance from home. And do you take possession of  
 ' the borders between you and the *Assyrian* terri-  
 ' tory, and cultivate them. And if we are able to  
 ' guard and preserve those parts that are in the ene-  
 ' mies neighbourhood, you who keep those other  
 ' parts that are at a greater distance from them, will  
 ' certainly live in great peace and quiet. For I do  
 ' not believe that they can think of forming designs  
 ' upon you that are at a distance, and neglect dan-  
 ' gers that are at hand.'

AFTER this had been said, all the rest of them  
 rising up, declared that they would join heartily in  
 putting



putting these things in execution. And *Cyaxares*, *Gadatas*, and *Gobrias* said, that if the allies would give them leave, they would each of them build a fort, that the allies might have those places in their interest. *Cyrus* therefore, when he saw them all so zealous in the execution of the things he had mentioned, concluded thus, ‘ If we intend, therefore, to effect what we agree ought to be done, we ought as soon as possible to be supplied with engines to demolish the forts of the enemy, and with builders to erect bulwarks of our own.’ Upon this *Cyaxares* promised to make, and supply them with, one engine; *Gadatas* and *Gobrias* promised another; *Tygranes* another; and another, *Cyrus* said that he would endeavour to make. When they were determined upon these things, they procured artificers for the making of these engines, and every one provided the materials necessary for their fabric, and they established as presidents and overseers of the work, certain persons that seemed the most proper for the employment.

*CYRUS*, when he found that there would be some time taken up in these affairs, encamped the army in a situation that he judged to be the most healthy and most easily accessible, with respect to all things that were necessary to be brought thither. And he did whatever was necessary to the making it strong, that they who always remained there might be in safety, though the main strength of the army should at any time march at a distance from the camp. And besides, he enquired of those he thought knew the country best, from what parts of it the army might be supplied with all things that were of use to them, in the greatest plenty. He led them always abroad to get provision and forage, both that he might procure the greatest plenty of necessaries for the army; that his men, inured to



labour by these marches, might gain health and vigour; and that in marching they might preserve in their memories the order they were to keep.

*CYRUS* was employed in these affairs, when deserters from *Babylon*, and prisoners taken, gave an account that the *Assyrian* was gone to *Lydia*, carrying with him many talents of gold and silver, and other treasures, and rich ornaments of all kinds. The body of the soldiery supposed that he was already putting his treasures out of the way for fear: but *Cyrus*, judging that he went in order to collect a force against him, if he were able to effect it, prepared himself on the other hand, with a great deal of vigour, as thinking that he should be again forced to come to an engagement. Accordingly he compleated the *Persian* body of horse; some horses he got from the prisoners, and some from his friends; for these things he accepted from all; rejecting nothing, neither a fine weapon nor a horse, if any one presented him with it. Chariots likewise he fitted up, both out of those that were taken, and from whence-soever else he was able to get supplied with what was necessary towards it.

THE *Trojan* method of using chariots that was practised of old, and that way of managing them that is yet in use amongst the *Cyrenæans*, he abolished. For formerly the *Medes*, *Syrians*, and *Arabians*, and all the people of *Asia*, used the same method with respect to their chariots, that the *Cyrenæans* do at this time: And he was of opinion, that the very best of the men being mounted upon chariots, they that probably constituted the chief strength of the army, had the part only of skirmishers at a distance, and had no great share in the gaining of a victory. For three hundred chariots afford three hundred combatants, and these take up twelve hundred horses; then their drivers probably are such, as these men that are the best of the army chiefly con-

fide



side in ; and here again are three hundred others, and they such as do the enemy no manner of mischief. Therefore this sort of management with respect to their chariots, he abolished ; and instead of this, he provided a sort of warlike chariots, with wheels of great strength, so as not to be easily broken, and with axle-trees that were long, because things that carry breadth are less liable to be overturned. The box for the drivers he made like a turret, and with strong pieces of timber ; and the highest of these boxes reached up to the elbows of the drivers, that, reaching over those boxes, they might drive the horses. The drivers he covered all but their eyes with armour. To the axle-trees, on each side of the wheels, he added steel scythes of about two cubits in length, and below, under the axle-tree, he fixed others pointing to the ground ; as intending with these chariots to break in upon the enemy. As *Cyrus* at that time contrived these chariots, so to this day they use them in the king's territory. He had likewise camels in great number ; such as were collected from amongst his friends, and those that were taken from the enemy, being all brought together.

Thus were these things performed. But he, being desirous to send some spy into *Lydia*, and to learn what the *Assyrian* did, was of opinion, that *Araspes*, the guardian of the beautiful woman, was a proper person to go upon that errand. For with *Araspes* things had fallen out in this manner.

HAVING fallen in love with the woman, he was forced to make proposals to her concerning a more intimate commerce with each other. But she denied him, and was faithful to her husband, though he was absent, for she loved him very much. Yet she did not accuse *Araspes* to *Cyrus*, being unwilling to make a quarrel between men that were friends. Then *Araspes*, thinking to forward the success of



his inclinations, threatened the woman, that if she would not yield to the thing willingly, she should submit to it against her will. Upon this, the woman being in fear of violation, concealed the matter no longer ; but sent an eunuch to *Cyrus*, with orders to tell him the whole affair. He, when he heard it, laughed at this man that had said he was above the power of love. He sent *Artabazus* with the eunuch, and commanded him to tell *Araspes*, that he should not do violence to such a woman ; but if he could prevail with her by persuasion, he said, that he would be no hindrance to him. But *Artabazus* coming to *Araspes*, reproached him, calling the woman a deposit that had been trusted in his hands ; and telling him of his impiety, injustice, and impotence of his passion ; so that *Araspes* shed many tears for grief, was overwhelmed with shame, and almost dead with fear, lest he should suffer some severity at the hands of *Cyrus*. *Cyrus* being informed of this, sent for him, and spoke to him by himself alone.

‘ I see, *Araspes*,’ said he, ‘ that you are very much in fear of me, and very much ashamed. But give them both over ; for I have heard that gods have been conquered by love ; I know how much men that have been accounted very wise, have suffered by love ; and I pronounced upon myself, that if I conversed with beautiful people, I was not enough master of myself, to disregard them. And I am the cause that this has befallen you ; for I shut you up with this irresistible thing.’

— *Araspes* then said in reply, ‘ You are in this too, *Cyrus*, as you are in other things, mild, and disposed to forgive the errors of other men : But other men,’ said he, ‘ overwhelm me with grief and concern ; for the rumour of my misfortune is got abroad, my enemies are pleased with it, and my friends come to me and advise me to get out  
‘ of



‘ the way, lest I suffer some severity at your hands,  
‘ as having been guilty of a very great injustice.’

THEN *Cyrus* said, ‘ Be it known to you there-  
‘ fore, *Araspes*, that by means of this very opinion  
‘ that people have taken up, it is in your power to  
‘ gratify me in a very high degree, and to do very  
‘ great service to our allies.’ ‘ I wish,’ said *Aras-  
pes*, ‘ that I had an opportunity of being again of  
‘ use to you.’ ‘ Therefore,’ said he, ‘ if you would  
‘ make as if you fled from me, and would go over  
‘ to the enemy, I believe that the enemy would  
‘ trust you.’ ‘ And I know, by *Jove*,’ said *Aras-  
pes*, ‘ that I should give occasion to have it said by  
‘ my friends that I fled from you.’ ‘ Then you  
‘ might return to us,’ said he, ‘ apprized of all the  
‘ enemies’ affairs. I believe that upon their giving  
‘ credit to you, they would make you a sharer in  
‘ their debates and councils; so that nothing would  
‘ be concealed from you, that I would desire you  
‘ should know.’——‘ I will go, then,’ said he,  
‘ now out of hand; for be assured, that my being  
‘ thought to have made my escape as one that were  
‘ just about to receive punishment at your hands,  
‘ will be one of the things that will give me credit.’

‘ AND can you,’ said he, ‘ leave the beautiful  
‘ *Panthea*?——Yes, *Cyrus*! for I have plainly two  
‘ souls. I have now philosophized this point out by  
‘ the help of that wicked sophister love; for a sin-  
‘ gle soul cannot be a good one and a bad one, at  
‘ the same time; nor can it at the same time affect  
‘ noble actions and vile ones. It cannot incline and  
‘ be averse to the same things, at the same time. But  
‘ it is plain there are two souls, and when the good  
‘ one prevails, it does noble things; when the ill one  
‘ prevails, it attempts vile things. But now that it has  
‘ got you for a support, the good one prevails, and  
‘ that very much.’——‘ If you think it proper therefore



‘ to be gone,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ thus you must do, in  
 ‘ order to gain the greater credit with them. Re-  
 ‘ late to them the state of our affairs, and relate it  
 ‘ so, as that what you say may be as great hindrance  
 ‘ as possible to what they intend to do : and it would  
 ‘ be some hindrance to them, if you should say that  
 ‘ we are preparing to make an incursion into some  
 ‘ part of their territory ; for when they hear this,  
 ‘ they will be less able to assemble their whole force  
 ‘ together, every one being in fear for something  
 ‘ at home. Then stay with them,’ said he, ‘ as  
 ‘ long as you can. For what they do when they  
 ‘ are the nearest us, will be the most for our pur-  
 ‘ pose to know. Advise them likewise to form  
 ‘ themselves into such an order, as may be thought  
 ‘ the strongest, for when you come away and are  
 ‘ supposed to be apprized of their order, they will  
 ‘ be under a necessity to keep to it, for they will be  
 ‘ afraid of making a change in it, and if they do  
 ‘ make a change, by their being so near at hand,  
 ‘ it will create confusion amongst them.’

*ARASPES* setting out in this manner, and ta-  
 king with him such of his servants as he chiefly con-  
 fided in, and telling some certain persons such things  
 as he thought might be of service to his underta-  
 king, went his way.

*PANTHEA*, as soon as she perceived that *Aras-  
 pes* was gone, sending to *Cyrus*, told him thus.  
 ‘ Do not be afflicted, *Cyrus* ! : that *Araspes* is gone  
 ‘ off to the enemy, for if you will allow me to send  
 ‘ to my husband, I engage that there will come to  
 ‘ you, one who will be a much more faithful friend  
 ‘ to you than *Araspes*. I know that he will attend you  
 ‘ with all the force that he is able, for the father of  
 ‘ the prince that now reigns was his friend ; but he  
 ‘ who at present reigns, attempted once to part us  
 ‘ from



‘ from each other ; and reckoning him therefore an  
‘ unjust man, I know, that he would joyfully revolt  
‘ from him to such a man as you are.’

*CYRUS* hearing this, ordered her to send to her husband ; she sent : and when *Abradatas* discovered the signs from his wife, and perceived how matters stood as to the other particulars, he marched joyfully away to *Cyrus*, having about two thousand horse with him. When he came up with the *Persian* scouts, he sent to *Cyrus* to tell him who he was. *Cyrus* immediately ordered them to conduct him to his wife.

WHEN *Abradatas* and his wife saw each other, they mutually embraced, as was natural to do, upon an occasion so unexpected. Upon this, *Panthea* told him of the sanctity and virtue of *Cyrus*, and of his pity and compassion towards her. *Abradatas* having heard of it, said, ‘ what can I do, *Panthea*,  
‘ to pay my gratitude to *Cyrus* for you and for myself :’ ‘ What else,’ said *Panthea*, ‘ but endeavour  
‘ to behave towards him as he has done towards  
‘ you.’——Upon this, *Abradatas* came to *Cyrus*, and as soon as he saw him, taking him by the right-hand, he said ; ‘ In return of the benefits you have  
‘ bestowed upon us, *Cyrus* ! I have nothing of  
‘ more consequence to say, than that I give myself  
‘ to you as a friend, a servant, and an ally. And  
‘ whatever designs I observe you to be engaged in,  
‘ I will endeavour to be the best assistant to you in  
‘ them that I am able.’ Then *Cyrus* said, ‘ I accept  
‘ your offer, and dismiss you at this time to take  
‘ your supper with your wife ; but at some other  
‘ time you must take a meal with me in my tent,  
‘ together with your friends and mine.’

AFTER this, *Abradatas* observing *Cyrus* to be employed about the chariots armed with scythes, and



about those horses and horsemen that were cloathed in armour, endeavoured out of his own body of horse to fit him up a hundred such chariots as his were, and he prepared himself, as being to lead them, mounted upon a chariot himself. His own chariot he framed with four perches and for eight horses. His wife, *Panthea*, out of her own treasures, made him a corselet of gold and a golden head-piece, and arm-pieces of the same; and the horses of his chariot, she provided with brass-defences. These things *Abradatas* performed. And *Cyrus* observing his chariot with four perches, considered that it might be possible to make one with eight, so as to draw the lower frame of these machines with eight yoke of oxen. This engine, together with its wheels, was upwards of fifteen feet from the ground. And he believed that turrets of this kind following in the line, might be of great help to his own phalanx, and do great prejudice to the line of the enemy. Upon these frames he made open places to move about in, and strong defences; and upon each of these turrets he mounted twenty men. When, all things with respect to these turrets were completed to his hand, he made an experiment of their draught, and eight yoke of oxen drew a turret and the men upon it, with more ease than each yoke drew the common baggage-weight. For the weight of baggage was about five and twenty talents to each yoke; but the draught of a turret, whose wooden frame was as broad as a tragic stage, together with twenty men, and their arms, mounted but to fifteen talents to each yoke. When he found that the draught was easy, he prepared for the marching these turrets with the army, reckoning, that to take all advantages was both safe and just, and of happy consequence in war.

AT



AT this time, there came from the *Indian* certain persons who brought treasure, and gave him an account that the *Indian* sent him word thus.—‘ I am pleased, *Cyrus!* that you gave me an account of what you wanted ; I have a mind to engage in friendship with you, and I send you treasure. If you want any thing else, send me word. They that come from me, have it in charge to do whatever you order them.’

*CYRUS* hearing this, said, ‘ I order then, that some of you remaining here, where you have pitched your tents, may guard the treasure, and live as is most agreeable to you. But let three of you go on to the enemy, as coming from the *Indian*, to treat an alliance ; and getting yourselves informed of what is said and done there, give me and the *Indian* an account of it, as soon as is possible. And if you serve me well in this, I shall be yet more obliged to you, than for your coming hither, and bringing me treasure. For such spies as appear men of servile condition, are not able to know or give an account of any thing more than what all people know. But such men as you, are often let into the knowledge of designs and counsels.’——The *Indians* hearing this with pleasure, and being upon that occasion entertained by *Cyrus*, made all things ready ; and the next day went away, promising faithfully to get informed of as many of the enemies concerns as they were able, and to come away as soon as possible.

*CYRUS* made all other preparations for the war, in the most magnificent manner, as being a man who projected to perform no inconsiderable things, and withal, did not only take care of such things as he thought proper for his allies, but raised amongst his friends, an emulation to appear armed in the handsomest manner, to appear the most skilled in horsemanship,



manship, at throwing of the javelin, and in the use of the bow, and the most ready to undergo any fatigue. This he effected, by leading them out to hunt, and rewarding those that were ablest in the several performances. And those commanders that he observed to be most careful to make their soldiers excel, those he animated by praising them, and by gratifying them in all that he was able. If at any time he made a sacrifice, or solemnized a festival, he appointed games upon the occasion, in all the several things that men practise upon the account of war, and gave magnificent rewards to the conquerors; and there was a mighty cheerfulness in the army.

ALL things that *Cyrus* had a mind to have with him for the service, were now almost completed to his hands, except the engines; for the *Persian* horse-men were filled up to ten thousand. The chariots armed with scythes, that he himself provided, were now a hundred complete. Those that *Abradatas* the *Susian* undertook to provide, like those of *Cyrus*, were likewise complete a hundred. And the *Median* chariots that *Cyrus* had persuaded *Cyaxares* to change from the *Trojan* and *Lybian* form and method, were likewise made up to another hundred. The camels were mounted by two archers upon each; and most of the army stood disposed, as if they had already conquered, and the affairs of the enemy were reduced to nothing.

WHILE they were in this disposition, the *Indians* that *Cyrus* had sent to get intelligence, came back from the enemy, and said that *Cræsus* was chosen general and leader of all the enemies forces. That all the princes in their alliance had determined to attend each with his whole force, to contribute mighty sums of money, and to lay them out in stipends to all those that they could hire, and in presents  
where



where it was proper. That they had already hired a great number of *Thracians* armed with large swords, that the *Ægyptians* were under sail to come to them, and the number of these, they said, amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand, armed with large shields that reached down to their feet, with mighty spears such as they use at this day, and with swords. They said, that a body of *Cyprians* was under sail to join them, and that all the *Cilicians*, the men of both the *Phrygias*, the *Lycaonians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Cappadocians*, *Arabians*, *Phœnicians* and *Assyrians*, with the prince of *Babylon*, were already joined; that the *Ionians*, the *Æolians*, and all the *Greek* colonies in *Asia* were obliged to attend *Cræsus*, and that *Cræsus* had sent to *Lacedæmon*, to treat of an alliance with them. That this army assembled about the river *Pactolus*, and was about to advance to *Thybarra*, where all the barbarians of the lower *Syria*, that are subjects to the king, assemble at this day. That orders were given out to all, to convey provisions and all things thither as to the general market. The prisoners likewise related almost the same things, for *Cyrus* took care that prisoners should be taken in order to get information, and he sent out spies, that seemed to be of servile condition, as deserters.

WHEN the army of *Cyrus* came to hear all this, every body was under concern, as it was natural for them to be. They went up and down in a sedate way than they used to do, and the multitude did not appear chearful. But they got together in circles, and all places were full of people, asking each other questions concerning these matters, and discouraging together. When *Cyrus* perceived that terror was spreading apace through the army, he called together the commanders of the several bodies, together with all such whose dejection might  
prove



prove to be any ways prejudicial, or their alacrity of use: and told his servants beforehand, that if any other of the soldiers attended to hear his discourse, they should not hinder them. When they were assembled, he said.

‘ FRIENDS and allies, I have called you together, because I observed, that since these accounts are come from the enemy, some of you appear like men that are terrified. For to me it appears strange, that any of you should be really terrified at the enemies being said to assemble their forces, because we are at this time met in much greater numbers than we were when we beat them, and, with the help of the gods, are now better prepared than before: and when you see this, does it not give you courage? In the name of the gods!’ said he, ‘ if you are afraid now, what had you done if people had given you an account that the enemies were advancing upon you with all the advantages on their side, that we have on ours? And in the first place,’ said he, ‘ had you heard that they who had beaten us before, were coming upon us again with minds full of the victory they had obtained! that they who at that time fled the distant discharge of arrows and javelins, were coming with multitudes more, armed like themselves! And then, that as these heavy-armed men at that time conquered our foot, so now their horsemen, provided in the same manner, advanced against our horse! and that rejecting bows and javelins, each of them armed with one strong lance, had it in their intention to push up to us and engage hand to hand! that there are chariots coming that are not to be planted as heretofore, and turned away as for flight, but that the horses of these chariots are covered with armour; the drivers stand in wooden turrets, and all upwards are covered with their corselets and helms, and



‘ and steel-scythes are fixed to the axle-trees, and  
‘ and that these are ready to drive in immediately  
‘ upon the rank of those that stand in opposition to  
‘ them ! Besides that they have camels upon which  
‘ they ride up to us, and one of which a hundred  
‘ horses will not bear the sight of ! And yet far-  
‘ ther, that they advance with certain towers, from  
‘ whence they can support their own people, and  
‘ by discharging their weapons upon you, hinder  
‘ you from fighting upon even ground with them !  
‘ ———Had any one told you that the enemies  
‘ were possessed of all these things, if you are afraid  
‘ now, what had you done then ! But when you  
‘ have an account that *Cræsus* is chosen the enemies’  
‘ general, he who behaved himself so much worse  
‘ than the *Syrians*, that the *Syrians* were beaten be-  
‘ fore they fled, but *Cræsus*, when he saw them  
‘ beaten, instead of supporting his allies, made his  
‘ escape ! And when it is told you that the same  
‘ enemies are not thought sufficient to engage us,  
‘ but that they hire others that they think will  
‘ fight their battles for them better than they do  
‘ for themselves !——If these are such things as ap-  
‘ pear terrible to any, and that the state of our own  
‘ affairs appears mean and contemptible to them !  
‘ ———These men, my friends ! I say, ought to go  
‘ their ways to the enemy ! for by being there they  
‘ will do us more service than they will by being  
‘ amongst us !’

WHEN *Cyrus* had said this, *Chrysantas* the *Persian* spoke thus——‘ O *Cyrus* ! do not wonder that  
‘ some people carry sad countenances upon having  
‘ heard these accounts ; for it is not fear that affects  
‘ them thus, but it is grief. For,’ said he, ‘ if peo-  
‘ ple that had a mind to get their dinners, and were  
‘ just in expectation of it, were told of some work  
‘ that was necessary to be done before they dined ;  
‘ nobody



‘ nobody, I believe, would be pleased with hear-  
 ‘ ing it. Just so therefore while we are in present  
 ‘ expectation of enriching ourselves, and then hear  
 ‘ that there is still some work left that of necessity  
 ‘ must be done, we look sad, not out of fear, but  
 ‘ because we want to have that work already over.  
 ‘ But since we are not only contending for *Syria*,  
 ‘ where there is corn in abundance, flocks and fruit-  
 ‘ ful palms, but for *Lydia* too, where wine and figs  
 ‘ and oil abound, and a land whose shores the sea  
 ‘ washes ; by which means such numbers of valuable  
 ‘ things are brought thither as no one of us ever  
 ‘ saw. Considering these things, we are no long-  
 ‘ er dejected, but have full confidence that we shall  
 ‘ soon enjoy these valuable productions of *Lydia*.’  
 —Thus he spoke ; and all the allies were pleased  
 with his discourse, and applauded it.

‘ AND indeed, my friends ! said *Cyrus* ! my  
 ‘ opinion is to march up to them as soon as possible,  
 ‘ that, if we can, we may prevent them, and first  
 ‘ reach those places where all their conveniences are  
 ‘ got together for them ; and then the sooner we  
 ‘ march to them, the fewer things we shall find  
 ‘ them provided with, and the more things we shall  
 ‘ find them in want of. This I give as my opini-  
 ‘ on ; if any one think any other course safer and  
 ‘ easier to us, let him inform us.’

AFTER a great many had expressed their con-  
 currence in its being proper to march as soon as pos-  
 sible to the enemy, and that nobody said to the  
 contrary ; upon this, *Cyrus* began a discourse to this  
 effect.

‘ FRIENDS and allies ! our minds, our bodies,  
 ‘ and the arms that we are to use, have been, with  
 ‘ the help of the gods ! long since provided to our  
 ‘ hands. It is now our business to provide necessa-  
 ‘ ries upon our march for no less than twenty days,  
 ‘ both for ourselves, and as many beasts as we make  
 ‘ use



‘ use of. For upon calculation, I find that the way  
‘ we are to go, will take us up more than fifteen  
‘ days, and upon the road we shall find no sort of  
‘ necessaries ; for every thing that was possible has  
‘ been taken and carried off, partly by ourselves,  
‘ and partly by the enemy. We must therefore  
‘ put up a sufficient quantity of food, for without  
‘ this, we can neither fight, nor can we live ; but  
‘ of wine, as much as is enough to accustom us to  
‘ drink water ; for great part of the way that we  
‘ are to take, is entirely unprovided with wine,  
‘ and were we to put up a very great quantity of it,  
‘ it would not suffice us. Therefore, that we may  
‘ not fall into distempers by being deprived of wine  
‘ all on a sudden, we must do thus, we must be-  
‘ gin now immediately to drink water with our  
‘ food : for by doing this now, we shall make no  
‘ very great change ; for whosoever feeds upon things  
‘ made of flour, eats the mass mixed up with wa-  
‘ ter, and he that feeds upon bread, eats the loaf  
‘ that is first moistened and worked up with water ;  
‘ and all boiled meats are made ready with a great  
‘ quantity of water. But if after our meal we  
‘ drink a little wine upon it, our stomach, not hav-  
‘ ing less than usual, rests satisfied. Then after-  
‘ wards we must cut off even this allowance after sup-  
‘ per, till at last we become insensibly water-drink-  
‘ ers. For an alteration little by little, brings any  
‘ nature to bear a total change. God himself teach-  
‘ es us this, by bringing us, little by little, from  
‘ the midst of winter to bear very great heat,  
‘ and from the heat to bear very great cold. And  
‘ we, in imitation of him, ought by custom and  
‘ practice to reach the end we should attain to.  
‘ Spare the weight of fine quilts and carpets, and  
‘ make it up in necessaries ; for a superfluity of  
‘ things necessary will not be useless. But if you  
‘ happen



‘ happen to be without these carpets, you need not  
‘ be afraid, that you shall not lie and sleep with  
‘ pleasure. If it prove otherwise than I say, then  
‘ blame me. But to have plenty of cloaths with  
‘ a man, is a great help to one both in health  
‘ and sickness. And of meats we ought to put up  
‘ those that are a good deal sharp, acid and salt ;  
‘ for they create appetite, and are a lasting nou-  
‘ rishment. And when we come into those parts  
‘ of the country that are untouched, where pro-  
‘ bably we shall find corn, we ought to be pro-  
‘ vided with hand-mills, by taking them with us  
‘ from hence, that we may use them in making our  
‘ bread. For of all the instruments that are used  
‘ in making bread, these are the lightest. We  
‘ ought likewise to put up quantities of such things  
‘ as are wanted by sick people ; for their bulk is  
‘ but very little, and if such a chance befall us, we  
‘ shall want them very much. We must likewise  
‘ have store of straps, for most things both about  
‘ men and horses are fastened by straps, and when  
‘ they wear out or break, there is a necessity of  
‘ standing still, unless one can get supplied with  
‘ them. Whoever has learnt the skill of polishing a  
‘ lance, it will be well for him not to forget a polish-  
‘ er, and he will do well to carry a file. For he  
‘ that sharpens his spear, sharpens his soul at the  
‘ same time ; for there is a sort of shame in it that  
‘ one who sharpens his lance, should himself be  
‘ cowardly and dull. We ought likewise to have  
‘ plenty of timber with us, for the chariots and  
‘ carriages ; for in many affairs many things will of  
‘ necessity be defective. And we ought to be pro-  
‘ vided with the tools and instruments that are the  
‘ most necessary for all these things, for artificers  
‘ are not every where to be met with ; nor will a  
‘ few of them be sufficient for our daily work.  
‘ To every carriage, we should have a cutting-hook  
‘ and



‘ and a spade ; and to each beast of burthen, a  
‘ pick-axe and a scythe ; for these things are useful  
‘ to every one in particular, and are often service-  
‘ able to the public. Therefore with respect to the  
‘ things that are necessary for food, do you that are  
‘ commanders of the soldiery ! examine those that  
‘ are under you ; for in whatever of these things  
‘ any one is defective, it must not be passed by.  
‘ For we shall be in want of these. And as to  
‘ those things that I order to be carried by the  
‘ beasts of burthen ; do you that are the command-  
‘ ers of those that belong to the baggage-train !  
‘ examine into them ; and the man that has them  
‘ not, do you oblige to provide them. And do  
‘ you that are the commanders of those that clear  
‘ the ways ! take down in a list from me, such as are  
‘ turned out from among the throwers of the jave-  
‘ lin, you must oblige to serve with an axe, for cut-  
‘ ting of wood. Those that are taken from the  
‘ the archers, with a spade ; and those from the  
‘ slingers, with a cutting hook. These must march  
‘ in troops before the carriages, that in case the  
‘ way wants to be mended, you may presently set  
‘ them to work, and that if I want any thing to be  
‘ done, I may know from whence to take them for  
‘ my use. And I will take with me smiths, car-  
‘ penters and leather cutters, with all their proper  
‘ tools, and who shall be men of an age fit to at-  
‘ tend the service ; that nothing of what is necessary  
‘ to be done in the army, in the way of those arts,  
‘ may be wanting. And these shall all be exempt  
‘ and disengaged from the military ranks, but shall  
‘ be placed in their proper order ready to do  
‘ service for any one that will hire them in the  
‘ ways that they are severally skilled in. And if  
‘ any tradesman has a mind to attend, with inten-  
‘ tion to sell any thing, he must have necessities



‘ for the days before mentioned ; and if he be found  
 ‘ to sell any thing during those days, all that he has,  
 ‘ shall be taken from him ; but when these days  
 ‘ are past, he may sell as he pleases. And whoever  
 ‘ of these traders shall be found to furnish the  
 ‘ greatest plenty of the things that he deals in, he  
 ‘ shall meet with reward and honour from our al-  
 ‘ lies and from me. If any one thinks that he  
 ‘ wants money to purchase things, let him bring  
 ‘ people that know him, and will be responsible for  
 ‘ him that he will certainly attend the army ; and  
 ‘ then let him take of what belongs to us.’

‘ THESE are the things that I order, If any one  
 ‘ knows of any other thing that is proper, let him  
 ‘ signify it to me. Do you go your ways and put  
 ‘ up every thing—I intend to make a sacrifice, on  
 ‘ our setting forward : and when our divine affairs  
 ‘ stand right, we will give the signal. All must at-  
 ‘ tend with the things before ordered, in their pro-  
 ‘ per posts, under their several commanders. And  
 ‘ do you commanders ! each of you, putting his  
 ‘ division into good order, all come and confer with  
 ‘ me, that you may learn your several posts.’ They  
 hearing this, made their preparations ; and he made  
 a sacrifice.

AND when the sacred rites were performed in a  
 happy manner, he set forward with the army, and  
 the first day encamped at as small a distance as he  
 could, that in case any one had forgot any thing he  
 might fetch it ; and that if any one found himself  
 in want of any thing, he might provide it. *Cyaxa-*  
*res* therefore with the third part of the *Medes*, staid  
 behind ; that affairs at home might not be left des-  
 titute.

AND *Cyrus* marched with the utmost dispatch,  
 having the horse at the head of the whole, but al-  
 ways making the discoverers and scouts mount up  
 before



before to such places as were most proper to take their views from. After the horse, he led the baggage-train; and where the country was open and plain, he marched the carriages and beasts of burthen in several lines. The phalanx marched after, and if any of the baggage-train was left behind, those of the commanders that were at hand, took care of it; that they might not be hindered in their march. But where their road was more contracted, he ranged the train in the middle, and the soldiers marched on each side; and if they met with any hindrance, those of the soldiers that were at hand took care about it. The several regiments marched for the most part with their own baggage near them, for it was given in charge to those of the train, to march each part of them by the regiment they belonged to, unless some necessity kept them from doing it; and every officer of the train led on with the colonel's ensign, or mark that was known to the men of their several regiments. So that they marched in close order; and every one took very great care of their own, that it might not be left behind; and by doing thus, they were in no need of seeking for each other; all things were at hand and in more safety, and the soldiers were the more readily supplied with what they wanted.

BUT as soon as the advanced scouts thought that they saw men in the plain getting forage and wood; and saw beasts of burthen laden with such kind of things, and feeding; and then again taking a view at a greater distance, they thought that they observed smoak or dust rising up into the air. From all these things they concluded that the enemy's army was some-where near at hand. The commander of the scouts therefore immediately sent one to *Cyrus* to tell him these things.



HE having heard these things, commanded them to remain in the same viewing places, and whatever new thing they saw, to give him an account of it. He sent a regiment of horse forward, and commanded them to endeavour to take some of the men that were in the plain, that they might get a clearer insight into the matter. They that were thus ordered, did accordingly. He made a disposition of the rest of his army in such a manner, that they might be provided with whatever he thought fitting before they came up close to the enemy ; and first he made it be proclaimed, that they should take their dinners and then wait in their ranks, attentive to their farther orders. When they had dined, he called together the several commanders of the horse, foot and chariots, of the engines, baggage, train and carriages, and they met accordingly. They that made an excursion into the plain taking certain people prisoners, brought them off.

THESE that were taken being asked by *Cyrus*, told him that they came off from their army, and passing their advanced guard, came out, some for forage and some for wood : for by means of the multitude that the army consisted of, all things were very scarce. *Cyrus* hearing this, said. ‘ And how far is the army from hence ? ’ They told him about two parasangs. Upon this *Cyrus* asked, ‘ And is there any discourse amongst them concerning us ? ’ ‘ Yes, by *Jove* ! ’ said they, ‘ a great deal, particularly that you are already near at hand advancing upon them. ’ ‘ Well then ! ’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ did they rejoice at the hearing it ? ’ And this he asked for the sake of those that were by. ‘ No, by *Jove* ! ’ said they ; ‘ they did not rejoice, but were very much concerned. ’ ‘ And at this time, ’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ what are they doing ? ’ ‘ They are forming in order, ’ said they, ‘ and both yesterday and the day



day before they were employed in the same work.' And he that makes their disposition,' said *Cyrus*, 'who is he?' *Cræsus* himself,' said they, 'and with him a certain *Greek*, another besides who is a *Mede*, and this man was said to be a deserter from you.' 'Then,' *Cyrus* said, 'O greatest *Jove*! may I be able to take this man as I desire!'

UPON this he ordered them to carry off the prisoners, and turned to the people that were present as if he were going to say something. At that instant there came another man from the commander of the scouts, who told him that there appeared a great body of horse in the plain, 'And we guess,' said he, 'that they are marching with intention to take a view of the army; for before this body, there is another party of about thirty horse, that march with great diligence, and directly against us, perhaps with intention to seize our station for viewing if they can, and we are but a single decad upon that station.' Then *Cyrus* ordered a party of those horse that always attended him to march and put themselves in a place under the viewing-station, and keeping themselves concealed from the enemy, to be quiet. 'And when our decad,' said he, 'quits the station, then do you rush out and attack those that mount it, and that the enemies' greater body may not do you mischief, do you, *Hystaspes*,' said he, 'march with a thousand horse, and appear in opposition to the enemy's body; and do not pursue up to any undiscovered place; but when you have taken care to maintain the possession of your viewing stations, then come back to me. And if any men ride up to you with their right-hands extended, receive them as friends.' *Hystaspes* went away and armed himself. Those that attended *Cyrus*, marched immediately; and on this side the viewing-places, *Araspes* with his servants, met them, he that



had been some time since sent away as a spy, and was the guardian of the *Susan* woman.

*CYRUS* therefore, as soon as he saw him, leaped from his seat, met him, and received him with his right-hand. The rest, as was natural, knowing nothing of the matter, were struck with the thing ; till *Cyrus* said, ‘ My friends ! Here comes to us  
 ‘ a brave man ! for now it is fit that all men should  
 ‘ know what he has done. This man went away,  
 ‘ not for any base thing that he was loaded with,  
 ‘ or for any fear of me, but he was sent by me ;  
 ‘ that learning the state of the enemy’s affairs for  
 ‘ us, he might make us a clear report of them.  
 ‘ What I promised you, therefore, *Araspes*, I re-  
 ‘ member ; and with the assistance of all these that  
 ‘ are here, I will perform it. And it is just that all  
 ‘ you, my friends ! should pay him honour as a  
 ‘ brave man ; for to do us service, he has thrown  
 ‘ himself into dangers, and has borne that load of re-  
 ‘ proach that fell so heavy upon him.’——Upon  
 this, they all embraced *Araspes* and gave him their  
 right-hands.

THEN *Cyrus* telling them that there was enough  
 of this, said. ‘ Give us an account, *Araspes*, of  
 ‘ these things ; and do not abate any thing of the  
 ‘ truth, with respect to the enemies’ affairs ; for it  
 ‘ is better that we should think them greater, and  
 ‘ see them less, than hear them to be less, and find  
 ‘ them greater.’——I acted,’ said *Araspes*, ‘ in such  
 ‘ a manner as to get the clearest insight into them ;  
 ‘ for I assisted in person at the making their dispo-  
 ‘ sition.’ ‘ You, therefore, said *Cyrus*, ‘ know not  
 ‘ only their numbers, but their order too.’ , Yes  
 ‘ by *Jove* ! said *Araspes*, ‘ and I know the manner  
 ‘ that they intend to engage in.’——‘ But in the  
 ‘ first place tell us however,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ in gene-  
 ‘ ral, what their numbers are ?’——Well then !’ said  
 he, ‘ They are all ranged thirty in depth, both foot  
 ‘ and



‘ and horse, except the *Ægyptians*; and they extended in front forty stades, for I took very great care to know what ground they took up.’——  
‘ And then as to the *Ægyptians*,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ tell us how they are ranged, for you said, except the *Ægyptians*’—— ‘ The commanders of ten thousand formed each of their bodies into a hundred every way; for this they say is their order according to their custom at home: but *Cræsus* allowed them to form in this manner very much against his will, for he was desirous to over-front your army as much as possible.’ ‘ And why,’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ does he desire this?’ ‘ Why, by *Jove*!’ said he, ‘ in order to encompass you with that part that exceeds you in front.’ Then *Cyrus* said. ‘ But let them look to it, that the encompassers be not themselves encompassed——But we have heard what is proper for us to be informed of by you, and you, my friends, must act in this manner.’

‘ As soon as you go from hence, examine the arms that belong both to the horses and to yourselves, for frequently by the want of a little thing, both man and horse and chariot becomes useless. To-morrow in the morning, whilst I sacrifice, you must first get ready your dinners both men and horse, that whatever opportunity of action offers itself, we may not balk it. Then do you, *Araspes*, keep the right wing as you do now, and let the other commanders of ten thousand keep the stations they now are in, for when a race is just ready to be entered upon, there’s no longer opportunity for any chariot to shift horses. Give orders to the several colonels and captains to form into a phalanx, with each company drawn up two in front.’—— And each company consisted of four and twenty men.——Then one of the commanders of ten thousand said. And do you think, ‘ *Cyrus*!’ said he, ‘ that when we are ranged but so



‘ many deep, we shall be strong enough against  
‘ phalanxes of that great depth?’

AND *Cyrus* replied. ‘ Phalanxes that are deeper  
‘ than to be able to reach the enemy with their  
‘ weapons; what injury, said he, do you think,  
‘ they will do to the enemy, or what service to  
‘ their fellow-combatants? For my part, said he,  
‘ those foldiers that are ranged a hundred in depth,  
‘ I would rather choose to have ranged ten thou-  
‘ sand in depth; for by that means we should have  
‘ the fewer to engage: but by the number of men  
‘ that form our phalanx in depth, I reckon to make  
‘ the whole act and support itself. The throwers of  
‘ the javelin I will range behind the corselet men;  
‘ and behind the throwers of the javelin, the arch-  
‘ ers. For who would place those in front who  
‘ themselves confess that they cannot bear any en-  
‘ gagement hand to hand? But when the corselet-  
‘ men are interposed before them, then they stand.  
‘ And the one casting their javelins, and the other  
‘ discharging their arrows over the heads of those  
‘ that are ranged before them, do execution upon  
‘ the enemy. And as much mischief as any one  
‘ does the enemy it is plain that so far he gives re-  
‘ lief to his fellow-combatants. Last of all, I will  
‘ place those that are called the rear; for as a house  
‘ without a strong stone-work, and without men  
‘ that have the skill to form the roof, is of no  
‘ value; so neither is a phalanx of any value with-  
‘ out such as are serviceable both to the front and  
‘ rear. Do you then,’ said he, ‘ form as I order  
‘ you. And do you, commanders of the javelin-  
‘ men! form your several companies in the same  
‘ manner behind these. Do you, commanders of  
‘ the archers, form in the same manner behind the  
‘ javelin-men; and you, who command the rear,  
‘ with your men placed last, give orders to those  
‘ under you, each of them to keep his eye to those  
‘ before



‘ before him, to encourage those that do their du-  
‘ ty, to threaten severely such as behave cowardly,  
‘ and if any one turn away with intention to desert  
‘ his station, to punish him with death. For it is  
‘ the business of those that are placed before, both  
‘ by words and actions to encourage those that fol-  
‘ low ; and you that are placed in the rear of all,  
‘ must inspire the cowardly with greater terror than  
‘ the enemies themselves give them. These things  
‘ do you do ! And do you, *Abradatas* ! who com-  
‘ mand those that belong to the engines, take care  
‘ that the oxen that draw the turrets and men be-  
‘ longing to them, follow up as close to the phalanx  
‘ as possible. And do you *Daouchus* ! who com-  
‘ mand the baggage train, lead up all that kind of  
‘ people behind the turrets and engines, and let  
‘ your attendants severely punish those that are  
‘ either more advanced or more behind than they  
‘ ought to be. And do you, *Cardouchus* ! who  
‘ command the waggons, that carry the women ;  
‘ place these last, behind the baggage-train. For  
‘ all these following each other, will make the ap-  
‘ pearance of a great multitude ; and will give us  
‘ an opportunity of forming an ambuscade ; and  
‘ in case the enemy have a mind to encompass us,  
‘ will oblige them to take a greater circuit ; and  
‘ the more ground they encompass, so much the  
‘ weaker must they of necessity be. And thus do  
‘ you ! But you, *Artabazus* and *Artagerfas* ! each  
‘ of you, with the thousand foot that attend you,  
‘ keep behind these. And you, *Pharnouchus* and  
‘ *Asiadatas* ! each, with your thousand horse, do  
‘ not you form in the phalanx, but arm by your-  
‘ selves behind the waggons ; and then come to us,  
‘ together with the rest of the commanders ; but  
‘ you ought to prepare yourselves as being the first  
‘ to engage. And do you, who are the command-  
ers



‘ ders of the men mounted upon the camels !  
 ‘ form behind the waggons, and act as *Artagerfas*  
 ‘ shall order you. And of you, leaders of the  
 ‘ chariots ! let that man range his hundred chariots  
 ‘ in front before the phalanx who obtains that sta-  
 ‘ tion by lot, and let the other hundreds attend the  
 ‘ phalanx ranged upon the wings, one on the right-  
 ‘ side and the other on the left.’

THUS *Cyrus* ordered.-----But *Abradatas*, king of the *Susians*, said, ‘ I take it voluntarily upon my-  
 ‘ self, *Cyrus*, to hold to that station in front, against  
 ‘ the opposite phalanx, unless you think otherwise.  
 -----Then *Cyrus* being struck with admiration of the man, and taking him by the right-hand, asked the *Persians* that belonged to others of the chariots, ‘ Do you,’ said he, ‘ yield to this ?’ When they replied, that it would not be handsome in them to give it up, he brought them all to the lot ; and by the lot, *Abradatas* obtained what he had taken upon himself ; and he stood opposite to the *Ægyptians*. Then going their way and taking care of the things that were before mentioned, they took their suppers, and having placed their guards they went to rest.

THE next day in the morning, *Cyaxares* <sup>\*</sup>sacrificed. But the rest of the army, after having taken their dinners, and made their libations, equipped themselves with fine coats in great number, and with many fine corselets and helmets. The horses likewise they armed with forehead pieces and  
 ‘ breast-plates the single horses with thigh-pieces,  
 ‘ and those in the chariots with plates upon their sides ; so that the whole army glittered with the brass, and appeared beautifully decked with scarlet habits.

THE chariot of *Abradatas*, that had four perches and eight horses, was completely adorned for him. And when he was going to put on his linnen-corselet,

*Cyrus* -



let, which was a sort of armour used by those of his country, *Panthea* brought him a golden helmet and arm-pieces, broad bracelets for his wrists, a purple-habit that reached down to his feet and hung in folds at the bottom ; and a crest dyed of a violet colour. These things she had made, unknown to her husband, and by taking the measure of his armour. He wondered when he saw them, and enquired thus of *Panthea*, ‘ And have you ‘ made me these arms, woman ! by destroying ‘ your own ornaments ? ’ ‘ No, by *Jove* ! ’ said *Panthea*, ‘ not what is the most valuable of them ; for ‘ ’tis you, if you appear to others to be what I think ‘ you, that will be my greatest ornament. ’—— And saying this, she put him on the armour ; and tho’ she endeavoured to conceal it, the tears poured down her cheeks. When *Abradatas*, who was before a man of fine appearance, was set out in these arms, he appeared the most beautiful and noble of all, especially being likewise so by nature. Then taking the reins from the driver, he was just preparing to mount the chariot ; upon this, *Panthea*, after she had desired all that were there present to retire, said——

‘ O *Abradatas* ! if ever there was another woman who had greater regard to her husband, than ‘ to her own life, I believe, you know that I am ‘ one of them ! What need I therefore speak of ‘ things in particular ? for I reckon that my actions ‘ have convinced you more than any words I can ‘ now use. And yet tho’ I stand thus affected towards you, as you know I do, I swear by this ‘ friendship of mine and yours ! that I certainly ‘ would rather chuse to be put under ground jointly with you approving yourself a brave man, than ‘ to live with you, in disgrace and shame ; so much ‘ do I think you and myself worthy of the noblest ‘ things ! Then I reckon we both lie under a great ‘ obligation



‘ obligation to *Cyrus*, that when I was a captive and  
 ‘ chosen out for himself, he thought fit to take me  
 ‘ neither as a slave, nor indeed as a free-woman of  
 ‘ mean account ; but he took and kept me for you,  
 ‘ as if I were his brother’s wife. Besides, when  
 ‘ *Araspes* who was my guard went away from him,  
 ‘ I promised him that if he would allow me to send  
 ‘ for you, you would come to him, and approve  
 ‘ yourself a much better and more faithful friend  
 ‘ than *Araspes*.’

Thus she spoke, And *Abradatas* being struck  
 with admiration at her discourse, laying his hand  
 gently upon her head and lifting up his eyes to  
 heaven made this prayer.-----‘ Do thou, O great-  
 ‘ est *Jove* ! grant me to appear a husband worthy  
 ‘ of *Panthea* ! and a friend worthy of *Cyrus*, who  
 ‘ has done us so much honour !’

HAVING said this, he mounted the chariot by  
 the door of the driver’s seat. And after his  
 being got up, when the driver shut the door of the  
 seat, *Panthea*, who had now no other way to salute  
 him, kissed the seat of the chariot. The chariot then  
 moved on ; and she, unknown to him, followed, till  
*Abradatas* turning about and seeing her, said,-----  
 ‘ Take courage *Panthea* ! ----- Fare you happily  
 ‘ and well ! and now go your ways !’----Upon this  
 her eunuchs, and women-servants took and con-  
 ducted her to her conveyance, and laying her down,  
 concealed her by throwing the covering of a tent  
 over her. The people, tho’ *Abradatas* and his  
 chariot made a noble spectacle, were not able to  
 look at him, till *Panthea* was gone.

BUT when *Cyrus* had happily sacrificed, the army  
 was formed for him according to his orders, and  
 taking possession of the viewing-stations one before  
 another, he called the leaders together and spoke  
 thus.

‘ FRIENDS

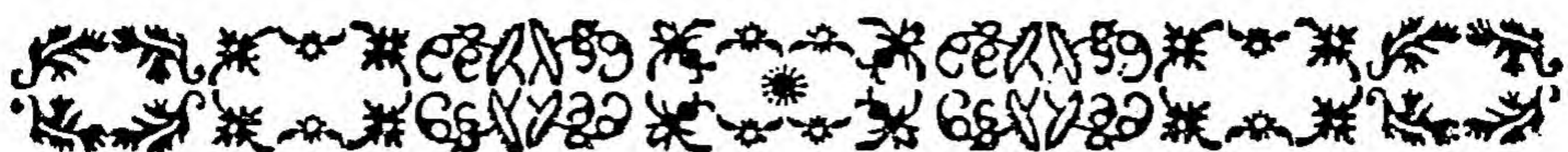


‘ FRIENDS and fellow-soldiers! The gods in  
‘ our sacred rites, have exposed to us the same hap-  
‘ py signs they did before, when they gave us vic-  
‘ tory! and I am desirous to put you in mind of  
‘ some such things, as, by your recollecting them,  
‘ will, in my opinion, make you march with much  
‘ more courage to the enemy. For you are better  
‘ practised in the affairs of war than our enemies  
‘ are; and you have been bred up together in this,  
‘ and formed to it a much longer time than our  
‘ enemies have been. You have been fellow-con-  
‘ querors together; whereas many of our enemies  
‘ have been fellow-sharers in a defeat; and of  
‘ those on both sides that have not yet been engaged  
‘ in action, they that are of our enemies’ side know  
‘ that they have for their supports men that have  
‘ been deserters of their station and run-aways;  
‘ but you, that are with us, know that you act with  
‘ men zealous to assist their friends. It is probable  
‘ then that they who have confidence in each other  
‘ will unanimously stand and fight; but they who  
‘ distrust each other will necessarily be every one  
‘ contriving, how they shall the soonest get out of  
‘ the way. Let us march then, my friends! to the  
‘ enemy, with our armed chariots against those of  
‘ the enemy unarmed; with our cavalry in like  
‘ manner, both men and horses armed, against  
‘ those of the enemy unarmed, in order to a close  
‘ engagement. The rest of the foot are such as  
‘ you have engaged already. But as for the *Ægypt-*  
‘ *tians*, they are both armed and formed in the  
‘ same manner, both equally ill; for they have  
‘ shields larger than they can act or see with; and,  
‘ being formed an hundred in depth, it is evident  
‘ they will hinder one another from fighting, except  
‘ only a very few. If they think by their might in  
‘ rushing on to make us give way, they must first  
‘ sustain our horse and such weapons as are driven  
‘ upon



‘ upon them by the force of horses ; and if any of  
 ‘ them make shift to stand this, how will they be  
 ‘ able to engage our horse, our phalanx, and our  
 ‘ turrets at the same time ? For those mounted on  
 ‘ the turrets will come up to our assistance, and by  
 ‘ doing execution upon the enemy, will make them,  
 ‘ instead of fighting, be confounded, and not know  
 ‘ what to do.——If you think that you are still  
 ‘ in want of any thing, tell me ; for, with the help  
 ‘ of the gods, we will be in want of nothing.——  
 ‘ And if any one have a mind to say any thing, let  
 ‘ him speak ; if not, go your ways to sacred affairs.  
 ‘ And, having made your prayers to the gods to  
 ‘ whom we have sacrificed, then go to your ranks.  
 ‘ And let every one of you remind those that be-  
 ‘ long to him of the things which I have put you in  
 ‘ mind of. And let every one make it appear to  
 ‘ those whom he commands, that he is worthy of  
 ‘ command, by shewing himself fearless in his  
 ‘ manner, his countenance, and his words.’





*CYROPÆDIA:*  
OR, THE  
INSTITUTION  
OF  
*CYRUS.*

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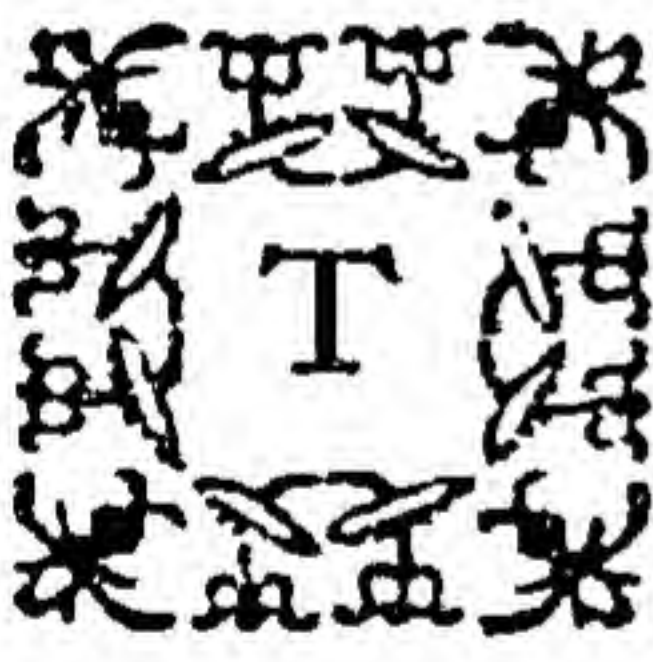
By *XENOPHON.*

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BOOK VII.

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HESE men, having made their prayers to the gods, went away to their ranks. And the servants brought meat and drink to *Cyrus*, and to those that were with him, while they were yet taken up in their holy rites. *Cyrus*, standing as he was, and beginning with the offering to the gods, took his dinner, and distributed around always to the man that most wanted. Then having made his libations and prayed; he drank, and the rest that were him did the same. After this was done, and he had made supplication to *Jove paternal*, to be their leader and support, he mounted his horse, and ordered those about him to do



do the same. All they that were with *Cyrus*, were armed with the same arms that he was; in scarlet-habits, brass-corselets, brass-helmets, white crests, swords, and every one with a single spear made of the *cornel tree*. Their horses were armed with forehead-pieces, breast-plates, and side-pieces, and these served as thigh-pieces to the rider. Thus much only did the arms of *Cyrus* differ from the others, that these were done over with a golden colour, but those of *Cyrus* cast a brightness like a mirror. When he was mounted, and stood looking which way he was to go, it thundered to the right. He then said, ‘We will follow thee, O greatest *Jove*!’ And he set forward with *Chrysantas* a commander of horse, and his body of horse upon his right-hand; and *Arasambas* with his body of foot, upon his left. He gave orders that all should have their eyes to his ensign, and follow on in an even pace. His ensign was a golden eagle held up upon the top of a long lance. And this remains the ensign of the *Persian* king to this day. Before they got sight of the enemy, he made the army halt three times. When they had marched on about twenty stades, they began then to observe the enemies’ army advancing; and when they were all in view of each other, and the enemies found that they exceeded very much in front on both sides; then, making their own phalanx halt, (for otherwise there was no fetching a compass to enclose the opposite army) they bent themselves in order to take that compass; that, by having disposed themselves into the form of the letter Gamma (Γ) on each side, they might engage on every side at once.

*CYRUS*, seeing this, did not slacken his pace for it, but led on just as before. And taking notice at how great a distance on each side they took their compass, and extended their wings around, ‘Do you observe,’ said he, ‘*Chrysantas*, where they  
‘ take



‘ take their compass?’ ‘ Yes,’ said *Chryfantas*,  
‘ and I wonder at it; for to me they seem to draw  
‘ off their wings very far from their own phalanx.’  
‘ Yes, by *Jove*!’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ and from ours too;  
‘ and what is the meaning of this? It is plainly,’  
said he, ‘ because they are afraid, in case their  
‘ wings get near to us, while their phalanx is yet at  
‘ a distance, that we shall charge them.’ ‘ Then,’  
said *Chryfantas*, ‘ How will they be able to be ser-  
‘ viceable to one another, when they are at such a  
‘ distance from each other?’ ‘ It is plain,’ said  
*Cyrus*, ‘ that when their wings have gained so  
‘ much ground as to be over against the sides of  
‘ our army, then turning themselves and forming  
‘ in front, they will march upon us on every side,  
‘ that they may engage on every side at once.’  
‘ And, do not you think then,’ said *Chryfantas*,  
‘ that they contrive well?’ ‘ Yes, with respect to  
‘ what they see; but with respect to what they do  
‘ not see, they contrive worse than if they advanced  
‘ upon us by their wings.——But do you, *Arsa-*  
‘ *mas*, lead on quietly with your foot, as you observe  
‘ that I do. And do you, *Chryfantas*, follow on  
‘ with your horse in the same even pace. I will  
‘ march away to the place where I think it pro-  
‘ per to begin the engagement: and as I pass on, I  
‘ will view how we stand disposed in every part.  
‘ After I get to the place, and when we are march-  
‘ ing up against each other, I will begin the hymn,  
‘ and do you follow me. When we are engaged  
‘ with the enemy you will perceive it; for I reckon  
‘ there will be no small noise and rout. Then will  
‘ *Abradatas* set forward to charge the enemy with  
‘ his chariots; for so it shall be told him to do.  
‘ You must follow up immediately after the chari-  
‘ ots; for by this means we shall fall upon the  
‘ enemy while they are most in disorder. I will be  
Vol II. T ‘ myself



‘ myself at hand, as soon as I can, to pursue them,  
 ‘ if the gods so please!’

HAVING said this, and transmitted the word, which was this, ‘ JOVE OUR SAVIOUR AND  
 ‘ LEADER!’ he then marched. And taking his way between the chariots and corselet-men, and looking upon some of the men that were in the ranks, he then said, ‘ My friends, how pleasing is  
 ‘ it to see your countenances!’ Then to others he said, ‘ Consider, my friends! that our present  
 ‘ contest is not only for victory to day, but to  
 ‘ maintain the victory we gained before, and for  
 ‘ all manner of happy success hereafter!’ Then coming up with others, he said: ‘ From hence-  
 ‘ forward, my friends, we shall have no cause to  
 ‘ blame the gods; for they have put it in our pow-  
 ‘ to acquire many great advantages to ourselves.  
 ‘ But then, my friends, let us be brave!’ To others he spoke thus: ‘ My friends, to what  
 ‘ nobler society of friendship can we ever invite one  
 ‘ another than to the present! For it is now in our  
 ‘ power, by being brave men, to confer upon each  
 ‘ other benefits in great number.’ And to others again thus. ‘ I believe you know, my friends,  
 ‘ that the prizes now lie before you. And to the  
 ‘ victors, they are these, to pursue, to deal their  
 ‘ blows, to kill, to reap great advantage, to gain  
 ‘ praise, to be free, and to rule. But the reverse  
 ‘ of these it is plain will be the lot of the cowardly.  
 ‘ Whoever therefore has a kindness for himself,  
 ‘ let him fight after my example; for I will not  
 ‘ willingly admit of any thing mean or base in my  
 ‘ behaviour.’ When he came up to others that had been in the engagement with him before, he said: ‘ And to you, my friends, what should I  
 ‘ say? For you know how those that are brave in  
 ‘ action



‘ action spend the day, and how those do it that are  
‘ cowardly.’

WHEN he was got over against *Abradatas*, as he passed along he stopped. And *Abradatas* delivering the reins to the driver, came to him; and several others that were posted near, and belonged both to the foot, and to the chariots, ran to him. And when they were come, he spoke to them in this manner. ‘ As you desired, *Abradatas*, God has  
‘ vouchsafed to grant the principal rank amongst  
‘ all us allies to those that are with you. And  
‘ when it comes to your part to engage, remember  
‘ that the *Persians* are to see you, and to follow you,  
‘ and not to suffer you to engage alone.’ Then *Abradatas* said: ‘ Affairs here with us, *Cyrus*, seem  
‘ to stand upon a good foot: but our flanks disturb  
‘ me. For along our flanks, I observe, are extend-  
‘ ed the enemies’ wings, that are very strong, and  
‘ consist of chariots and all other military strength:  
‘ but of ours there is nothing opposed to them but  
‘ chariots; so that,’ said he, ‘ had not I obtained  
‘ this post by lot, I should be ashamed to be here:  
‘ So much do I think myself in the safest station.’ Then *Cyrus* said, ‘ If things are upon a good foot  
‘ with you, be at ease as to them; for, with the  
‘ help of the gods, I will shew you our flanks en-  
‘ tirely clear of the enemy. And do not you at-  
‘ tack the enemy, I charge you, before you see  
‘ those people flying that you are now afraid of.’ (Thus presumptuously did he talk of the approach-  
ing engagement, though at other times he was not presumptuous in his discourse) ‘ But, when you see  
‘ these men flying, then count upon it that I am at  
‘ hand, and begin your attack; for you will then  
‘ deal with the enemy, while they are in the great-  
‘ est consternation, and your own men in the most  
‘ heart. But, while you have leisure, *Abradatas*,  
T 2 ‘ drive



‘ drive along by your own chariots, and exhort  
 ‘ your people to the attack. Give them courage  
 ‘ by your countenance, raise them with hopes, and  
 ‘ inspire them with emulation to appear the bravest  
 ‘ among all that belong to the chariots.—For be  
 ‘ assured, that if things fall out thus, they will all  
 ‘ say for the future, that nothing is more profitable  
 ‘ than virtue and bravery.’ *Abradatas* mounting  
 his chariot, drove along, and put these things in  
 execution.

BUT *Cyrus* moving on again, when he came to  
 the left, where *Hystaspes* was with half the *Persian*  
 horse, calling him by his name, said. ‘ *Hystaspes* !  
 ‘ you now see work for your quickness in the exe-  
 ‘ cution of business ; for if we are before-hand with  
 ‘ the enemy in charging and doing execution upon  
 ‘ them, we shall not lose a man.’ *Hystaspes* laugh-  
 ing at this said, ‘ We will take care of those that  
 ‘ are over against us ; do you give some others the  
 ‘ charge of those that are upon our flanks, that  
 ‘ they likewise may not be idle.’ Then *Cyrus* said,  
 ‘ I am going to those myself. But remember this,  
 ‘ *Hystaspes* ! which-ever of us it is that God favours  
 ‘ with victory, if the enemy make a stand any  
 ‘ where, let us always join in with our forces and  
 ‘ charge where the fight continues.’ Having said  
 this, he moved on ; and when in his passage he got  
 to the flank, and to the commander of the chariots  
 that were there posted, he said to him ; ‘ I am come  
 ‘ to your assistance. But when you perceive us to  
 ‘ have made our attack at the extremities, then do  
 ‘ you endeavour at the same time to make your  
 ‘ way through the enemy, for you will be much  
 ‘ safer when you are at large, than while you are  
 ‘ enclosed within them.’ Then passing on, when  
 he got behind the waggons, he ordered *Artagersas*  
 and *Pharnouchus*, each with his thousand men, one  
 of



of foot, and the other of horse, there to remain. ‘ And when you perceive,’ said he, ‘ that I have made my attack upon those that are posted over against our right wing, then do you charge those that are over against you. You will engage them by their wing and in flank where an army is the weakest ; and with your own men formed into a phalanx, that you yourselves may be in that form and disposition which is the strongest. Then the enemy’s horse, as you see are the hindmost. By all means therefore, advance the body of camels upon them, and be assured, that before you come to engage, you will see the enemy in a ridiculous condition.’ *Cyrus* having finished these affairs, went on to the right wing.

AND *Cræsus* judging that his phalanx that he marched with, was now nearer to the enemy than his extended wings ; gave the signal to the wings, to march no farther on, but to turn about in the station they were in. And as they all stood facing the army of *Cyrus*, he gave them the signal to march to the enemy. And thus three phalanxes advanced upon the army of *Cyrus* : one in front ; and of the other two, one upon the right side, and the other upon the left : so that a very great terror seized the whole army of *Cyrus*. For just like a little brick placed within a large one ; so was the army of *Cyrus* surrounded by the enemy, with their horse, their heavy-armed men, their shield-men, archers and chariots on every side, except upon the rear. However, when *Cyrus* gave the signal, they all turned and faced the enemy. And there was a deep silence on every side, in expectation and concern for the event. As soon as *Cyrus* thought it the proper time, he began the hymn ; and the whole army sung it with him. After this, they all



of them together made a shout to the God of battle.

THEN *Cyrus* broke out, and instantly with his horse taking the enemy in flank, fell in upon them as soon as possible. The foot that were with him in order of battle followed immediately, and they enclosed the enemy on each side; so that they had very much the advantage; for with a phalanx of their own, they charged the enemy upon their wing, so that the enemy presently fled with the utmost speed. As soon as *Artagerfas* perceived that *Cyrus* was engaged, he attacked upon the left, making the camels advance, as *Cyrus* had ordered. And the enemy's horses even at a great distance were not able to stand them; but some of them run madly away, some started from their ranks, and others fell foul on one another, for thus are horses always served by camels. *Artagerfas* with his men formed, charged, in good order, the enemy that were in confusion. And the chariots, both to the right and left, fell on at the same time. Many of the enemy that fled from the chariots, were killed by those that pursued the wing; and many of them in their flight from these were met by the chariots.

*ABRADATAS* then delayed no longer, but crying out with vehemence, 'Follow me, my friends!' rushed on, without sparing his horses in any sort, but with the spur fetched a great deal of blood from them. His other charioteers broke out with him. The chariots of the enemy immediately fled before them, some of them taking up their men that mounted them, and some leaving them behind. Then *Abradatas* making his way directly through these, fell in upon the *Ægyptian* phalanx, and they that were placed in order near him, fell on with him. Upon many other occasions, it has been



been made evident, that no phalanx can be of greater strength, than when it is made up of joint-combatants, that are friends. And it was made evident upon this. For the companions and table-acquaintance of *Abradatas* attacked jointly with him ; but the other drivers, when they saw the *Ægyptians* in a compact body stand their ground, turned off to the chariots that were flying and pursued them : the *Ægyptians* not being able to make way, because they who were on every side of them stood their ground. They that were with *Abradatas* therefore in that part where they fell on, running upon those that stood against them, overturned them by the rapid course of the horses. And those that fell, they tore to pieces, both men and arms ; horses and wheels ; and whatever the scythes caught hold of, they cut their way thro' by force, whether arms or bodies of men. In this inexpressible confusion, the wheels making their way by jolts over heaps of all kinds, *Abradatas* fell, as did likewise the rest that broke in with him. And here were these brave men cut down and killed.

THE *Persians* who followed up after them, falling upon those that were in disorder, where *Abradatas* and his men had broke in, did execution upon them. But where the *Ægyptians* were undisturbed, (and of these there were great numbers) they marched up against the *Persians*. Here began a terrible combat of launces, javelins, and swords ; and the *Ægyptians* had the advantage both by their multitude, and by their arms ; for their launces were very strong and of great length, (such as they yet use at this day) and their large shields were a better defence to them than corselets, and the less sort of shield ; and being fastened to their shoulders, were of service to them, to make the stronger push. Therefore closing their large shields together, they moved and pushed on. The *Persians* holding their



less sort of shields in their hands at arms-length, were not able to sustain them, but retreated gradually, dealing and receiving blows till they came to the engines. When they got thither, the *Ægyptians* were again galled from the turrets. And they that were in the rear of all, would not suffer either the archers or the javelin-men to fly ; but holding their swords at them, forced them to shoot and to throw. And great havock and destruction there was of men, great clashing of arms and weapons of all kinds, and great noise of people, some calling to each other, some making exhortations, and some calling upon the gods.

UPON this, *Cyrus* pursuing those that were opposite to him, came up : And when he saw the *Persians* forced from their station, he was grieved ; and knowing that he could by no other means sooner stop the progress of the enemy forward, than by riding round and getting to their rear, he commanded those that were with him to follow. He rode round and came up with their rear, where his men charging them, fell upon them as their backs were turned, and killed a great many. The *Ægyptians* as soon as they perceived this, cried out, that the enemy was behind them, and in this distress faced about. Here foot and horse fought promiscuously, and a man falling under *Cyrus's* horse, and being trampled upon, struck his sword into the horse's belly ; the horse, thus wounded, tossed and staggered and threw *Cyrus* off. Upon this occasion one might see of what advantage it was, for a ruler to have the love of those that are under his command. For all immediately cried out, fell on, and fought ; they pushed, and were themselves pushed in their turn ; they gave blows, and received them ; and one of the attendants of *Cyrus* leaping from his horse, mounted *Cyrus* upon him. When *Cyrus* was mounted, he perceived that the *Ægyptians*  
were



were now hard-pressed on every side, for *Hystaspes* was come up with the *Persian* horse, and *Chrysantas* in like manner. But he would not now suffer them to fall in upon the *Ægyptian* phalanx, but to gall them with arrows and javelins at a distance ; this he gave them orders to do. Then in riding round, as he came up to the engines, he thought it proper to mount a turret, to view whether any body of the enemy made a stand and fought. When he was got up, he saw the whole plain full of horses, men and chariots, some flying, some pursuing, some victorious, some defeated, the enemy flying, and his own men conquering. But he was no longer able to discover in any part, any that stood, but the *Ægyptians* ; and these, when they were at a loss what to do, forming themselves into a circle, with their arms turned to the view of their enemy, sat quietly under the shelter of their shields, no longer acted, but suffered in a cruel manner.

CYRUS being struck with admiration of these men, and touched with pity, that such brave men should perish, made all those retreat that were engaged against them, and suffered none to continue fighting. He then sent to them a herald to ask, ‘ whether they intended to be all destroyed for men that had deserted and betrayed them, or whether they chose to be saved with the reputation of being brave men.’ Their reply was thus : ‘ How can we obtain safety and be reputed brave ?’—Then *Cyrus* again said, ‘ Because we see, that you are the only men that stand your ground and dare fight.’ ‘ But then,’ said the *Ægyptians*, ‘ what is it that we can handsomely do, and obtain safety ?’ *Cyrus* to this said, ‘ If you can obtain it without betraying any of your allies and friends ; if you deliver up your arms to us, and become friends



‘ friends to those who choose to save you, when it  
 ‘ is in their power to destroy you.’ Having heard  
 this, they asked this question. ‘ If we become  
 ‘ your friends, *Cyrus* ! how will you think fit to  
 ‘ deal with us ?’ *Cyrus* replied, ‘ Both to do you  
 ‘ good offices, and to receive them from you.’ Then  
 the *Ægyptians* again asked, ‘ What good offices ?’  
 And to this *Cyrus* said, ‘ As long as the war con-  
 ‘ tinues, I will give you larger pay than you now  
 ‘ receive ; when we have peace, to every one of you  
 ‘ that will stay with me, I will give land, cities,  
 ‘ women and servants.’ The *Ægyptians* hearing  
 this, ‘ begged that they might be exempted from  
 ‘ engaging in war with him against *Cræsus*. For  
 ‘ he was the only one, they said, that they forgave.’  
 But consenting to all the rest, they on both sides  
 pledged their faith reciprocally. The *Ægyptians*  
 that then remained continue still to this day faithful  
 to the king. And *Cyrus* gave them the cities, *La-*  
*rissa* and *Cyllene*, that are called the cities of the  
*Ægyptians*, and lie up in the country in the neigh-  
 bourhood of *Cuma*, near the sea ; and their posterity  
 have them at this day in their possession.

*CYRUS* having performed all these things, and  
 it now growing dark, retreated ; and he encamped  
 at *Thybarra*.——In this battle, the *Ægyptians* on-  
 ly of all the enemies people gained reputation. And  
 of those that were with *Cyrus*, the *Persian-cavalry*  
 were thought to have been the best. So that the same  
 sort of arms that *Cyrus* at that time equipped his  
 horse-men with, continue yet in use. The chariots  
 that carried scythes gained likewise great fame. So  
 that this remains yet the chariot for war in use with  
 the prince still reigning on in succession. The ca-  
 mels did no more than fright the horses ; they that  
 mounted them did no execution upon the horse-  
 men, nor were they any of them themselves killed  
 by



by the horse-men, for no horse would come near them. This was then reckoned of use. But no brave man will breed a camel for his own mounting, nor exercise and manage them, as intending to serve in war upon them, so that taking up their old form again, they keep in the baggage-train. *Cyrus's* men having taken their suppers, and placed their guards as was proper, went to rest.

BUT *Cræsus* immediately fled with his army to *Sardes*. The other nations retreated as far as they could in the night, taking their several ways home. As soon as it was day, *Cyrus* led the army to *Sardes*. And when he got up to the walls of the place, he raised engines, as intending to form an attack upon the walls, and provided ladders. Whilst he was doing these things, the next night he made the *Chaldæans* and *Persians* mount that part of the *Sardian* fortifications that was thought the most inaccessible; and a certain *Persian* led them the way, who had been a slave to one of the garrisons in the citadel, and had learnt the descent down to the river and the ascent from it. As soon as it was known that the heights above were taken, all the *Lydians* fled from the walls, every one shifting for themselves as they were able. *Cyrus*, as soon as it was day, entered the city, and gave out orders, that no one should stir from his rank. *Cræsus* shut up in his palace, called out upon *Cyrus*, but *Cyrus* leaving a guard upon *Cræsus*, turned off and mounted up to the castle that was taken.

AND when he saw the *Persians* keeping guard there, as became them; and the arms of the *Chaldæans* left alone; (for they themselves were run down to plunder the houses) he presently summoned their commanders and bid them quit the army immediately. ‘For I cannot bear,’ said he, ‘to see disorderly men get the advantage of others. And be

‘ it



‘ it known to you !’ said he, ‘ I was providing to  
 ‘ manage so, as to make all the *Chaldæans* pro-  
 ‘ nounce those fortunate and happy that engaged  
 ‘ with me in the war. But now,’ said he, ‘ do not  
 ‘ wonder if somebody superior to you in strength,  
 ‘ happen to meet with you as you go off.’ The  
*Chaldæans* hearing this, were in great error, ‘ beg-  
 ‘ ged him to allay his anger, and said, that they  
 ‘ would restore him all the rich effects they had ta-  
 ‘ ken.’ He told them, ‘ that he was not in want  
 ‘ of them ; but,’ said he, ‘ if you would ease me of  
 ‘ my trouble and concern ; give up all that you  
 ‘ have got, to those that keep guard in the castle.  
 ‘ For when the rest of the soldiers find that the or-  
 ‘ derly are the better for their being so, all will be  
 ‘ well with me.’ The *Chaldæans* did as *Cyrus* had  
 commanded them, and they that had been obedient  
 to their orders, got a great many rich effects of all  
 kinds. Then *Cyrus* having encamped his men to-  
 wards that part of the city that he thought the most  
 convenient, gave them all orders to stand to their  
 arms, and take their dinners ; and having done  
 this, he ordered *Cræsus* to be brought to him.

*CROESUS*, as soon as he saw *Cyrus*, said ‘ Joy  
 ‘ and happiness to you ! my Sovereign Lord ! For  
 ‘ from hence forward, fortune has ordered you to  
 ‘ receive that name, and me to give it you.’ ‘ The  
 ‘ same I wish to you, *Cræsus* !’ said he, ‘ since we  
 ‘ are men both of us. But *Cræsus* !’ said he,  
 ‘ would you give me a little advice.’ ‘ I wish, *Cy-  
 ‘ rus* !’ said he, ‘ that I were able to find any good  
 ‘ for you ; for I believe it might be of advantage to  
 ‘ myself.’ ‘ Hear then, *Cræsus* !’ said he,——  
 ‘ observing that the soldiers after having undergone  
 ‘ many fatigues, and run many dangers, reckon  
 ‘ themselves now in possession of the richest city in  
 ‘ *Asia*, next to *Babylon* ; I think it fit that they  
 ‘ should



‘ should receive some profit in return. For I make  
‘ account,’ said he, ‘ that unless they receive some  
‘ fruit of their labours, I shall not have them long  
‘ obedient to my orders. But I am not willing to  
‘ give them up the city to plunder. For I believe,  
‘ that the city would be destroyed by it ; and in a  
‘ plunder, I know very well, that the worst of our  
‘ men, would have the advantage of the best.—

*Cræsus* hearing this, said, ‘ Allow me,’ said he, ‘ to  
‘ speak to such of the *Lydians* as I think fit, and to  
‘ tell them, that I have prevailed with you, not to  
‘ plunder nor to suffer our wives and children to be  
‘ taken from us ; but have promised you that in  
‘ lieu of these, you shall certainly have from the  
‘ *Lydians* of their own accord, whatever there is  
‘ of worth and value in *Sardes*. For when they  
‘ hear this, I know they will bring out, whatever  
‘ there is here of value in the possession either of  
‘ man or woman. And yet by that time the year  
‘ comes about, the city will be again in like man-  
‘ ner full of things of value in great abundance.  
‘ But if you plunder it, you will have all manner  
‘ of arts, that are called the springs of riches and  
‘ of all things valuable, destroyed. And then you  
‘ are still at liberty after you have seen this, to come  
‘ and consult, whether you shall plunder the city or  
‘ no. Send,’ said he, ‘ in the first place to my  
‘ treasures, and let your guards take them from  
‘ those that have the keeping them for me.’

*CYRUS* agreed to act in all things, as *Cræsus*  
said. ‘ But by all means,’ said he, ‘ tell me how  
‘ things have fallen out in consequence of the an-  
‘ swers you received upon your application to the  
‘ *Delphian* oracle ? For you are said to have paid  
‘ the utmost devotion to *Apollo*, and to have done  
‘ every thing at his persuasion.’ ‘ Indeed, *Cyrus*,’  
said he, ‘ I could wish, that things stood thus with  
‘ me. But now, have I gone on immediately from  
‘ the



‘ the beginning, doing things in direct opposition  
 ‘ to *Apollo*.’ ‘ How so ?’ said *Cyrus*, ‘ pray inform  
 ‘ me ; for you tell me things that are unaccounta-  
 ‘ ble.’ ‘ Because,’ said he, ‘ in the first place, ne-  
 ‘ glecting to consult the God in what I wanted, I  
 ‘ made trial of him whether he was able to tell the  
 ‘ truth. Now not only a God, but even men that  
 ‘ are of worth, when they find themselves distrust-  
 ‘ ed, have no kindness for those that distrust them.  
 ‘ And after he had found me doing things that were  
 ‘ absurd, and knew that I was at a great distance from  
 ‘ *Delphi*, then I sent to consult concerning my having  
 ‘ sons. He at first made me no answer ; but, by  
 ‘ my sending him many presents of gold, and many  
 ‘ of silver, and by making multitudes of sacrifices,  
 ‘ I rendered him propitious to me, as I thought,  
 ‘ and he then, upon my consulting him what I  
 ‘ should do that I might have sons,’ answered,  
 ‘ That I should have them.’ ‘ And I had them ;  
 ‘ for neither in this did he deal falsely with me.  
 ‘ But when I had them, they were of no advantage  
 ‘ to me ; for one of them continues dumb, and he  
 ‘ that was the best of them perished in the flower of  
 ‘ his age. Being afflicted with the misfortune of  
 ‘ my sons, I sent again, and enquired of the God,  
 ‘ what to do, that I might pass the remainder of  
 ‘ my life in the happiest manner ?’ And he made  
 ‘ answer, ‘ O *CROESUS* ! BY THE KNOWLEDGE  
 ‘ OF THY SELF, THOU WILT PASS THY DAYS  
 ‘ IN HAPPINESS !’ ‘ When I heard this oracle, I  
 ‘ was pleased with it ; for I thought he had grant-  
 ‘ ed me happiness, by commanding me to do the  
 ‘ easiest thing that could be. For of the rest of  
 ‘ men, some I thought, it was possible for one to  
 ‘ know, and some not ; but that every man knew  
 ‘ what he was himself. After this, during the  
 ‘ whole time that I continued in peace, and after  
 ‘ the death of my son, I accused my fortune in no-  
 ‘ thing.



‘ thing. But when I was persuaded by the *Assyrian*  
‘ to make war upon you, I fell into all manner of  
‘ dangers, but came off safe without getting any  
‘ harm. Now neither in this, can I lay any thing  
‘ to the God’s charge; for after I knew myself not  
‘ to be sufficient to make war with you, with the  
‘ help of the God, I came off with safety, both my-  
‘ self and those that attended me. But then again,  
‘ being as it were dissolved, by the riches I was  
‘ possessed of, by those that begged me to be  
‘ their chief, by the presents they made me, and  
‘ by men that in flattery told me, that if I would  
‘ take upon me the command, all men would obey  
‘ me, and I should be the greatest of men; and be-  
‘ ing puffed up by discourses of this kind, as all the  
‘ kings around chose me their chief in the war; I  
‘ accepted the command, as if I were sufficient to  
‘ be the first of men, ignorant of myself, in ima-  
‘ gining that I was able to make war with you!  
‘ you, who, in the first place are descended from  
‘ the Gods, are born of a race of kings; and have  
‘ been from a boy exercised to virtue. But of my  
‘ own ancestors, the first that reigned, I have heard  
‘ became a king and a free-man at the same time.  
‘ Having been therefore,’ said he, ‘ thus ignorant,  
‘ I am justly punished for it. But now,’ said he,  
‘ *Cyrus*, I know myself.——And can you yet  
‘ think that the words of *Apollo* are true, that by  
‘ knowing myself I shall be happy?——Of you I  
‘ make the enquiry, for this reason, because you  
‘ seem to me to be the best able to guess at it, at  
‘ this time; for you can make it good.’

THEN *Cyrus* said, ‘ Do you give me your opini-  
‘ on, *Cræsus*, upon this; for taking into considera-  
‘ tion your former happiness, I have compassion for  
‘ you, and now give up into your possession the  
‘ wife that you have, together with your daughters,  
‘ (for



‘ (for daughters I hear you have) your friends, ser-  
 ‘ vants and table that you used to keep ; but com-  
 ‘ bats and wars I cut you off from.’ ‘ By *Jove* !  
 ‘ then,’ said *Cræsus*, ‘ consult no farther to make  
 ‘ me an answer concerning my happiness, for I tell  
 ‘ you already, if you do these things for me that  
 ‘ you say you will, that then I am already in pos-  
 ‘ session of that course of life that others have by  
 ‘ my confession thought the happiest, and I shall  
 ‘ continue on in it.’ Then *Cyrus* said, ‘ Who is he  
 ‘ that is in possession of that happy course of life ?’  
 ‘ My own wife, *Cyrus* !’ said he. For she shared  
 ‘ equally with me in all tender, good, pleasing and  
 ‘ agreeable things, but in the cares about the suc-  
 ‘ cess of these things in wars and battles, she shared  
 ‘ not at all. So that, in my opinion, you provide  
 ‘ for me in the manner that I did for the person  
 ‘ that of all mankind I loved the most ; so that I  
 ‘ think myself indebted to *Apollo* in some farther  
 ‘ presents of gratitude and thanks.’ *Cyrus* hearing  
 his discourse, admired his good humour ; and he  
 carried him about with him wherever he went,  
 either thinking that he was of use, or reckoning it  
 the safest way to do so. Thus then they went to  
 rest.

THE next day *Cyrus* calling together his friends  
 and the commanders of the army, ordered some of  
 them to receive the treasures ; and some to take  
 from amongst all the riches that *Cræsus* should de-  
 liver up, first for the gods, such of them as the  
*Mages* should direct ; then to receive the rest, put  
 it into chests and pack it up in the waggons, put-  
 ting the waggons to the lot, and so to convey it  
 wherever they went, that when opportunity served,  
 they might every one receive their deserved share.  
 These men did so accordingly.

AND *Cyrus* calling to some of his servants that  
 were there attending him ; ‘ Tell me, said he,  
 ‘ has



‘ has any of you seen *Abradatas*, for I admire that  
‘ he who was so frequently in our company before,  
‘ now does not appear.’ One of the servants there-  
fore replied. ‘ My sovereign! it is, because he is  
‘ not living, but died in the battle, as he broke in  
‘ with his chariots upon the *Ægyptians*. All the  
‘ rest of them, except his particular companions,  
‘ they say, turned off when they saw the *Ægyptians*  
‘ compact body. His wife is now said to have  
‘ taken up his dead body, to have placed it in the  
‘ carriage that she herself was conveyed in, and to  
‘ have brought it hither to some place upon the  
‘ river *Pactolus*, and her eunuchs and servants, they  
‘ say, are digging a grave for the deceased upon a  
‘ certain elevation. They say that his wife, after  
‘ having set him out with all the ornaments she  
‘ has, is sitting upon the ground with his head upon  
‘ her knees.’ *Cyrus* hearing this, gave himself a blow  
upon the thigh, mounted his horse presently at a  
leap, and taking with him a thousand horse, rode  
away to this scene of affliction; but gave orders  
to *Gadatas* and *Gobrias*, to take with them all the  
rich ornaments proper for a friend and an excellent  
man deceased, and to follow him. And who-  
ever had herds of cattle with him, he ordered them  
to take both oxen and horses, and sheep in good  
number, and to bring them away to the place where,  
by enquiry, they should find him to be; that he  
might sacrifice there to *Abradatas*.

As soon as he saw the woman sitting upon the  
ground, and the dead body there lying; he shed  
tears at the afflicting sight, and said. ‘ Alas!  
‘ thou brave and faithful soul! Hast thou left us!  
‘ and art thou gone!’ — At the same time, he  
took him by the right-hand; and the hand of the  
deceased came away, for it had been cut off with  
a sword by the *Ægyptians*. He, at the sight of this,  
became yet much more concerned than before.



The woman skriek'd out in a lamentable manner, and taking the hand from *Cyrus*, kiss'd it, fitted it to its proper place again, as well as she could, and said; 'The rest, *Cyrus*! is in the same condition! but what need you see it? And I know, that I was not one of the least concerned in these sufferings! and perhaps you were not less so! For I!——Fool that I was!——frequently exhorted him to behave in such a manner, as to appear a friend to you! worthy of notice! and I know, he never thought of what he himself should suffer, but of what he should do to please you!——He is dead therefore, said she, without reproach!-----and I who urged him on, sit here alive!-----*Cyrus* shedding tears for some time in silence, then spoke.--'He has died, woman! the noblest death! for he has died victorious! Do you adorn him with these things that I furnish you with!' (And *Gobrias* and *Gadatas* were then come up, and had brought rich ornaments in great abundance with them.) 'Then, said he, be assured, he shall not want respect and honour in all other things! but over and above, multitudes shall concur in raising him a monument that shall be worthy of us! and all the sacrifices shall be made him that are proper to be made in honour of a brave man!-----' You,' said he, 'shall not be left destitute, but for the sake of your modesty and every other virtue, I will pay you all other honours, as well as place those about you, who shall convey you wherever you please. Do but you make it known to me who it is that you desire to be conveyed to.' And *Panthea* reply'd, 'Be confident, *Cyrus*!' said she, 'I will not conceal from you, who it is that I desire to go to!-----'

He having said this, went away with great pity for the woman, that she should have lost such a husband,



husband, and for the man that he should have left such a wife behind him, never to see her more.----

The woman gave order to her eunuchs to retire, 'till such time, said she, 'as I have lamented my husband as I please!' Her nurse she bid to stay, and gave her orders, that when she was dead, she should wrap her and her husband up in one mantle together. The nurse after having repeatedly begged her not to do thus, and meeting with no success, but observing her to grow angry, set herself down, breaking out into tears. She being beforehand provided with a sword, killed herself, and laying her head down upon her husband's breast, she died. The nurse set up a lamentable cry, and covered them both as *Panthea* had directed.

*CYRUS*, as soon as he was informed of what the woman had done, being struck with it, went to help her if he could. The eunuchs, being three in number, seeing what had been done, drew their swords and killed themselves, as they stood at the place where she had ordered them. And the monument is now said to have been raised by continuing the mount on to the eunuchs; and upon a pillar above they say the names of the man and of the woman were written in *Syriack* letters. Below, they say, there were three pillars, and that they were inscribed thus, *of the eunuchs*. *Cyrus* when he came to this melancholy scene, was struck with admiration of the woman, and having lamented over her, went away. He took care of them as was proper, that all the funeral rites should be paid them in the noblest manner. And the monument they say was raised up to a very great size.

AFTER this, the *Carians* falling into factions, and the parties making war upon each other, and having their habitations in places of strength, both called in *Cyrus*. *Cyrus* remaining at *Sardes*, made engines and battering-rams, to demolish the walls



of those that should refuse to submit ; and sent *Adusius* a *Persian*, one who was not unable in other respects, nor unskilled in war, and a very agreeable man, into *Caria*, and gave him an army. The *Cilicians* and *Cyprians* very readily engaged with him in that service ; for which reason he never sent a *Persian* as governor over the *Cilicians* or *Cyprians* ; but contented himself with their national kings, only receiving a tribute from them, and appointing them their quotas for military service whenever he should want them. *Adusius* at the head of his army came into *Caria*. And from both parties of the *Carians*, there were people that came to him, and were ready to admit him into their places of strength to the prejudice of their opposite faction.

*ADUSIUS* behaved to both in this manner. Which ever of the parties he conferred with, he told them that what they said was just, he said that they must needs keep it concealed from their antagonists ; that he and they were friends ; that by this means he might fall upon their antagonists whilst they were the most unprepared. As testimonials of their faith, he required, that the *Carians* should swear without fraud to admit him and his people into their places of strength, for the service of *Cyrus* and of the *Persians*, and he would himself make oath to enter their places of strength for the service of those that admitted him. Having done this, then privately and unknown to each other, he appointed them both the same night : and that night he got within their walls and seized the fortifications of both. As soon as day came, he sat himself between them with his army about him, and summoned the proper persons on both sides to attend. These men, when they saw each other, were astonished, and thought themselves both deceived. And *Adusius* spoke to this effect. ‘ I swore to you, men of *Caria* ! ‘ that I would without fraud enter  
‘ your



‘ your fortifications, to the advantage of those that  
‘ admitted me. Therefore, if I destroy either of  
‘ you, I reckon that I have made this entry to the  
‘ damage of the *Carians*. But if I procure you  
‘ peace, and liberty to you both to cultivate your  
‘ lands with security, I then reckon I am come for  
‘ your advantage. From this day therefore it is your  
‘ part to join in correspondence with each other, in  
‘ a friendly manner, to cultivate your lands, to give  
‘ and receive each other’s children mutually in  
‘ marriage, and if any one attempts to deal un-  
‘ justly in any of these matters, to all such, *Cyrus*  
‘ and we will be enemies.’ After this the gates of  
the fortresses were thrown open, the ways were full  
of people passing from one to another, the lands  
were full of labourers, they celebrated festivals in  
common, and all was full of peace and satisfaction.

MEANWHILE, there came people from *Cyrus*,  
to enquire whether he wanted either a reinforcement  
or engines. *Adusius* returned answer, that for the  
present he might turn his forces another way. And  
at the same time that he made his answer, he led  
the army away, leaving garrisons in the castles.  
The *Carians* prayed him to stay, and upon his  
refusal they sent to *Cyrus*, begging him to send *Adu-*  
*sus* to them as their governor. *Cyrus* meanwhile  
had sent *Hystaspes* away with an army to *Phrygia* on  
the *Hellespont*. And when *Adusius* arrived, he or-  
dered him to lead his army on the way that *Hystaf-*  
*pes* was gone before, that those people might the  
more readily submit to *Hystaspes*, when they heard  
that there was another army advancing. The *Greeks*  
that inhabited upon the sea-side, prevailed by many  
presents not to admit the Barbarians within their  
walls, but they engaged to pay a tribute, and serve  
in war where *Cyrus* should command them. The  
king of *Phrygia* prepared himself as intending to  
keep possession of his places of strength, and not



to submit, and he sent word accordingly. But when the commanders under him revolted from him, he became destitute, and at last fell into the hands of *Hystaspes*, to receive the punishment that *Cyrus* should think fit to inflict upon him. *Hystaspes* then leaving strong *Persian* garrisons in the castles, went away, and together with his own men, carried off considerable numbers of the *Phrygians*, both horse and shield-men. *Cyrus* sent orders to *Adusius* to join *Hystaspes*, and to take such of the *Phrygians* as took part with them, and bring them away with their arms; but such has had shewn an inclination to make war upon them, to take both their horses and arms from them, and command them all to attend them with slings. These men did accordingly.

*CYRUS* then set forward from *Sardes*, leaving there a numerous *Persian* garrison, and taking *Cræsus* with him and a great many waggons loaded with abundance of rich effects of all kinds. And *Cræsus* came to him with an exact account in writing of what was in each waggon, and delivering the writings to *Cyrus*, said, ‘By these, *Cyrus*!’ said he, ‘you will know who it is that justly delivers the things that he takes with him into his charge, and and who it is that does not.’ Then *Cyrus* said, ‘You do extremely well, *Cræsus*!’ in being thus provident and careful: But they that have the charge of these things for me, are such as deserve to have them, so that if they steal any of them, they steal what belongs to themselves.’ At the same time he delivered the writings to his friends and chief officers, that they might know which of those that were intrusted with these things delivered them up to them safe, and which of them did not. Such of the *Lydians* as he saw setting themselves out handsomely in their arms, horses and chariots,



chariots, and using all their endeavours to do what they thought would please him, these he took with him in arms. But from those that he saw attended with dissatisfaction, he took their horses and gave them to the *Persians* that first engaged in the service with him ; he burnt their arms, and obliged them to follow with slings. And all those that he disarmed of the several nations that he subjected, he obliged them to practise the sling, reckoning it a servile sort of arm. For there are occasions, when slingers accompanied with other forces are of very great use, but when a force consists all of slingers, they are not able of themselves to stand against a very few men, that march up close upon them with arms proper for close engagement.

IN his march to *Babylon*, he overthrew the *Phrygians* of the greater *Phrygia*. He overthrew the *Capadocians*, and he subjected the *Arabians*. And out of all these he armed no less than forty thousand *Persian* horse-men. Abundance of the horses that belonged to prisoners taken, he distributed amongst all his allies. He came at last to *Babylon*, bringing with him a mighty multitude of horse, a mighty multitude of archers and javelin-men, but slingers innumerable.

WHEN *Cyrus* got to *Babylon*, he posted his whole army round the city, then rode round the city himself, together with his friends and with such of his allies as he thought proper. When he had taken a view of the walls, he prepared for drawing off the army from before the city, and a certain deserter coming off, told him, that they intended to fall upon him when he drew off the army. ‘ For as they  
‘ took their view from the walls,’ said he, ‘ your  
‘ phalanx appeared to them to be but weak. And  
no wonder that it really was so. For his men encompassing a great extent of wall, the phalanx was



of necessity to be drawn out into but little depth. *Cyrus* having heard this, and standing in the center of his army with those that were about him, gave orders that the heavy-armed men, from both the extremities folding up the phalanx, should move away, along by that part of the army that stood still, till each extremity came up and joined in the center. Upon their doing this therefore, it gave the greater courage to those that stood ; because they were now of double the depth they were of before ; and it gave courage in like manner to those that moved away, for they that stood their ground were immediately upon the enemy. When both the extremities marched and joined up to each other, they stood still, being now much the stronger ; they that moved off, by means of those that were before them ; and they that were in front, by means of those that were now behind them. The phalanx being thus folded up, the best men came of necessity to be ranged first, and last, and the worst in the middle.———And a disposition of this kind seemed to be the best adapted both for fighting, and to prevent flight. Then the horse and light-armed men upon the wings, came up nearer always to the commander in chief, as the phalanx became less extended by being thus doubled in depth. When they were thus collected together, they retreated, by falling back till they got perfectly out of weapons cast from the walls ; when they were gotten out of weapons cast, they turned, and moving forward a few steps, they turned again to their shields about and stood facing the walls : And the greater distance they were off, so much the seldomer they faced about ; and when they thought themselves safe, they made off in a continued march till they reached their tents.

WHEN



WHEN they were encamped, *Cyrus* summoned to him the proper persons, and said. ‘ Friends and  
‘ allies ! we have taken a view of the city round,  
‘ and I don’t find that I can discover how it is pos-  
‘ sible for one by any attack, to make one’s self  
‘ master of walls that are so strong and so high. But  
‘ the greater the numbers of men in the city are,  
‘ (since they venture not out to fight,) so much the  
‘ sooner in my opinion they may be taken by fa-  
‘ mine. Therefore unless you have some other me-  
‘ thod to propose, I say, that these men must be  
‘ besieged and taken in that manner.’ Then *Chry-*  
*santas* said, ‘ Does not this river, that is above two  
‘ stades over, run through the midst of the city ?’  
‘ Yes, by *Jove* !’ said *Gobrias*, ‘ and it is of so great  
‘ a depth, that two men, one standing upon the  
‘ other, would not reach above the water, so that  
‘ the city is yet stronger by the river than by its  
‘ walls.’ Then *Cyrus* said, ‘ *Chrysantas* ! let us lay  
‘ aside these things that are above our force. It is  
‘ our business, as soon as possible, to dig as broad  
‘ and as deep a ditch as we can, each part of us  
‘ measuring out his proportion, that by this means  
‘ we may want the fewer men to keep watch.

So measuring out the ground around the wall ;  
and from the side of the river, leaving a space suffi-  
cient for large turrets ; he dug round the wall on  
every side, a very great ditch ; and they threw up  
the earth towards themselves. In the first place,  
he built the turrets upon the river, laying their  
foundation upon palm-trees that were not less than  
a hundred feet in length. For there are those of  
them that grow, even to a yet greater length than  
that, and palm-trees that are pressed, bend up un-  
der the weight as asses do, that are used to the pack-  
saddle. He placed the turrets upon these, for this  
reason, that it might carry the stronger appearance  
of



of his preparing to block up the city, and as if he intended, that if the river made its way into the ditch, it might not carry off the turrets. He raised likewise a great many other turrets upon the rampart of earth, that he might have as many places as were proper for his watches. These people were thus employed. But they that were within the walls, laughed at this blockade, as being themselves provided with necessaries for above twenty years. *Cyrus* hearing this, divided his army into twelve parts, as if he intended that each part should serve upon the watch one month in the year. And when the *Babylonians* heard this, they laughed yet more than before; thinking with themselves, that they were to be watched by the *Phrygians*, *Lycians*, *Arabians* and *Cappadocians*, men that were better affected to them than they were to the *Persians*. The ditches were now finished.

AND *Cyrus*, when he heard that they were celebrating a festival in *Babylon*, in which all the *Babylonians* drank and revelled the whole night; upon that occasion, as soon as it grew dark, took a number of men with him and opened the ditches into the river. When this was done, the water run off in the night by the ditches, and the passage of the river through the city became passable. When the affair of the river was thus managed, *Cyrus* gave orders to the *Persian*-commanders of thousands, both foot and horse, to attend him, each with his thousand drawn up two in front, and the rest of the allies to follow in the rear; ranged as they used to be before. They came accordingly. Then he, making those that attended his person, both foot and horse, to go down into the dry part of the river, ordered them to try, whether the channel of the river was passable. And when they brought him word that it was passable, he then called together  
the



the commanders both of foot and horse, and spoke to them in this manner.

‘ THE river, my friends ! has yielded us a passage into the city. Let us boldly enter, and not fear any thing within, considering, that these people that we are now to march against, are the same that we defeated while they had their allies attending them, while they were awake, sober, armed, and in order. But now we march to them at a time, that many of them are asleep, many drunk, and all of them in confusion, and when they discover that we are got in, they will then, by means of their consternation, be yet more unfit for service, than they are now. But in case any one apprehend, (what is said to be terrible to those that enter a city) lest mounting to the tops of their houses, they discharge down upon us on every side : as to this, be still more at ease. For if they mount to the tops of their houses, we have then the god *Vulcan* for our fellow-combatant ; their porches are easily set fire to, their doors are made of the palm-tree, and anointed over with a bituminous matter, which will nourish the flame. We have torches in abundance, that will presently take fire : We have plenty of pitch and tow, that will immediately raise a mighty flame ; so that they must of necessity fly from off their houses immediately, or immediately be burnt. Come on then ! take your arms, and with the help of the gods ! I’ll lead you on. Do you, said he, to *Gobrias* and *Gadatas*, shew us the ways : For you are acquainted with them, and, when we are got in, lead us the readiest way to the palace.’—‘ It may be no wonder, perhaps, (said they that were with *Gobrias*) ‘ if the doors of the palace are open, for the city seems to-night to be in a general revel, but we shall meet with a guard at the gates ; for  
‘ there



‘ there is always one set there.’ ‘ We must not then  
 ‘ be remiss, said *Cyrus*, but march, that we may  
 ‘ take them as much unprepared as possible.’

WHEN this was said, they marched, and of those that they met with, some they fell upon and killed, some fled, and some set up a clamour. They that were with *Gobrias*, joined in the clamour with them, as if they were revellers themselves, and marching on the shortest way that they could, they got round about the palace. Then they that attended *Gadatas* and *Gobrias* in military order, found the door of the palace shut ; and they that were posted opposite to the guards fell in upon them, as they were drinking with a great deal of light around them, and used them immediately in a hospitable manner. As soon as the noise and clamour began, they that were within perceiving the disturbance, and the king commanding them to examine what the matter was, ran out throwing open the gates. They that were with *Gadatas*, as soon as they saw the gates loose, broke in, pressing forward upon the run-aways, and dealing their blows amongst them, they came up to the king and found him now in a standing posture with his sword drawn. They that were with *Gadatas* and *Gobrias*, being many in number, mastered him ; they likewise that were with him were killed, one holding up something before him, another flying, and another defending himself with any thing that he could meet with. *Cyrus* sent a body of horse up and down thro’ the streets, bidding them kill those that they found abroad, and ordering some who understood the *Syrian* language to proclaim it to those that were in the houses to remain within, and that if any were found abroad they should be killed. These men did accordingly. *Gadatas* and *Gobrias* then came up, and having first paid their adoration to the gods for the revenge they had upon their impious king, they then kissed  
 the



the hands and feet of *Cyrus*, shedding many tears in the midst of their joy and satisfaction.

WHEN day came, and they that guarded the castles perceived that the city was taken, and the king dead, they gave up the castles. *Cyrus* immediately took possession of the castles, and sent commanders with garrisons into them. He gave up the dead to be buried by their relations; and ordered heralds to make proclamation, that the *Babylonians* should bring out their arms, and made it be declared, that in whatever house any arms should be found, all the people in it should suffer death. They accordingly brought out their arms, and *Cyrus* had them deposited in the castles, that they might be ready in case he should want them upon any future occasion.

WHEN these things had been done, then, first summoning the *Mages*, he commanded them to choose out for the Gods, the first fruits of certain portions of ground for sacred use, as out of a city taken by the sword. After this he distributed houses and palaces to those that he reckoned had been sharers with him in all the actions that had been performed. He made the distributions in the manner that had been determined; the best things to the best deserving; and if any one thought himself wronged, he ordered him to come and acquaint him with it. He gave out orders to the *Babylonians* to cultivate their land, to pay their taxes, and to serve those that they were severally given to. The *Persians*, and such as were his fellow-sharers, and those of his allies that chose to remain with him, he ordered to talk as masters of those they had received.

AFTER this, *Cyrus*, desiring now to set himself upon such a foot as he thought becoming a king, that he might appear but seldom, and in an awful manner,



manner, with the least envy that was possible, was of opinion to effect it with the consent of his friends; he contrived it therefore in this manner: As soon as it was day, taking a station in some place, where he thought it proper, he admitted any one that had a mind to speak with him; and, after having given him his answer, dismissed him. The people, as soon as they knew he gave admittance, resorted to the place in disorderly and unmanageable multitudes; and, by their pressing round about the entrance, there was a mighty struggle and contention; and the servants that attended, distinguishing as well as they could, let them in. When any of his friends, by pressing their way through the crowd, appeared before him, *Cyrus*, holding out his hand, drew them to him, and spoke to them thus. ‘Wait here, my friends, ’till we have dispatched the crowd, and then we will confer at leisure.’ His friends waited, and the crowd flocked in more and more, ’till the evening came on upon them, before he could be at leisure to confer with his friends. So *Cyrus* then spoke. ‘Now, good people,’ said he, ‘it is time to separate; come again to-morrow morning, for I have a mind to have some discourse with you.’ His friends, hearing this, ran off and went their way with great satisfaction, having done penance in the want of all kind of necessaries. Thus they went to rest.———The next day, *Cyrus* attended at the same place; and a much greater multitude of people that were desirous of being admitted to him, stood round about, attending much sooner than his friends. *Cyrus* therefore forming a large circle of *Persian* lance-men, bid them let none pass, but his friends, and the *Persian* commanders, and the commanders of his allies. When these men were met, he spoke to them to this effect.

‘FRIENDS and allies, we have nothing that we can lay to the charge of the gods, as not having  
‘hitherto



‘ hitherto effected whatever we have wished for.  
‘ But if this be the consequence of performing great  
‘ things, that one cannot obtain a little leisure for  
‘ one’s self, nor enjoy any satisfaction with one’s  
‘ friends; I bid farewell to such happiness. You  
‘ observed,’ said he, ‘ yesterday, that beginning in  
‘ in the morning to give audience to those that  
‘ came, we did not make an end before the even-  
‘ ing. And now you see that these and many more  
‘ than those that attended yesterday are here about,  
‘ intending to give us trouble. If one submit one’s  
‘ self therefore to this, I reckon that but a very little  
‘ part of me will fall to your share, and but a little  
‘ of you to mine. And in myself, I know very  
‘ well, I shall have no share at all. Besides,’ said  
he, ‘ there is another ridiculous thing that I take  
‘ notice of. I stand affected to you, as it is natural  
‘ for me to do. But of those that stand here around,  
‘ I may know here and there one, or perhaps none  
‘ at all; and these men stand so disposed, as to  
‘ think, that if they can get the better of you in  
‘ crowding, they shall effect what they desire at my  
‘ hands sooner than you shall. Yet I should think  
‘ it proper, that if any of them want me, they  
‘ should make their court to you that are my  
‘ friends, and beg to be introduced. But some-  
‘ body then, perhaps, may say, Why did not I set  
‘ myself upon this foot from the beginning, and  
‘ why did I give myself up so in common? Why,  
‘ because I knew that the affairs of war were of such  
‘ a nature, that the commander ought not to be be-  
‘ hind-hand either in knowing what was fit to be  
‘ known, or in executing what the occasion requir-  
‘ ed. And such commanders as were seldom to be  
‘ be seen, I thought, let slip many things that were  
‘ proper to be done. But since war that requires  
‘ the utmost labour and diligence, is now ceased,

‘ my



‘ my own mind seems to me to require some rest.  
 ‘ As I am therefore at a loss what to do, that our  
 ‘ own affairs and those of others that it is our part  
 ‘ to take care of, may be established upon the best  
 ‘ foot : let some one or other give us such advice,  
 ‘ as he thinks the most advantageous.’ — Thus  
*Cyrus* spoke.

THEN *Artabazus*, he who had said heretofore, that he was his relation, rose up after him and spoke.  
 ‘ You have done very well, *Cyrus*,’ said he, ‘ in beginning this discourse. For while you were yet  
 ‘ very young, I set out, with a desire to be your  
 ‘ friend ; but observing that you were not at all in  
 ‘ want of me, I neglected coming to you. When  
 ‘ you came afterwards to want me as a zealous deliverer of *Cyaxares*’s orders to the *Medes*, I counted upon it, that if I undertook this for you with  
 ‘ zeal, I should become your intimate friend, and  
 ‘ converse with you as long as I pleased. These  
 ‘ things were so effectually done, that I had your  
 ‘ commendation. After this, the *Hyrcauians* first became our friends, and this while we were in great  
 ‘ distress for assistants. So that, in the transport,  
 ‘ we almost carried them about with us in our arms.  
 ‘ After this, when the enemy’s camp was taken, I  
 ‘ did not think that you were at leisure for me, and  
 ‘ I excused you ; after this *Gobrias* became your  
 ‘ friend, and I was rejoiced at it. Then *Gadatas*  
 ‘ too, and it became a downright labour to share  
 ‘ of you. When *Sacians* and *Cadusians* became  
 ‘ your allies and friends, it was probably very fit  
 ‘ for you to cultivate and serve them, for they had  
 ‘ served you. When we came back again to the  
 ‘ place from whence we set out, then seeing you  
 ‘ taken up with your horse, your chariots and your  
 ‘ engines, I thought that when you were at leisure  
 ‘ from all this, then you would have leisure for me.  
 ‘ But when the terrible message came, that all  
 ‘ mankind



‘ mankind were assembling against us, I deter-  
‘ mined with myself, that this was the decisive af-  
‘ fair ; and if things succeeded well here, I thought  
‘ myself sure that we should then plentifully enjoy  
‘ each other’s company and converse. Now we  
‘ have fought the decisive battle and conquered ;  
‘ we have *Sardes* and *Cræsus* in our hands ; *Baby-*  
‘ *lon* we have taken ; and we have borne down all  
‘ before us. And yet by the god *Mithras* ! yester-  
‘ day, had not I made my way with my fist thro’  
‘ the multitude, I had not been able to get to you.  
‘ And when you had taken me by the hand and bid  
‘ me stay by you, then there I stood to be gazed at  
‘ for passing the whole day with you, without either  
‘ meat or drink. Now therefore if any means can  
‘ be found, that they who have been the most de-  
‘ serving, shall have the greatest share of you, ’tis  
‘ well : if not, then I would again give out orders,  
‘ from you, that all should depart, excepting us  
‘ that have been your friends from the beginning.’

At this *Cyrus* and many others laughed.—  
Then *Chrysantas* the *Persian* rose and spoke thus.  
‘ Heretofore, probably, *Cyrus* ! you kept yourself  
‘ open to the eyes of all, for the reasons you have  
‘ yourself expressed ; and because we were not the  
‘ people that you were chiefly to cultivate ; for we at-  
‘ tended for our own sakes, but your business was by  
‘ all methods to gain the multitude, that they might  
‘ with all possible satisfaction be ready to undergo  
‘ labours and run dangers with us. But since you  
‘ are not only in circumstances to do this, but are  
‘ able to acquire others, that you may have occa-  
‘ sion for, it is now very fit that you have a house  
‘ yourself. Or what enjoyment can you have of  
‘ your command, if you are the only one, that does  
‘ not share an home ? than which there’s no place  
‘ that to men is more sacred, none more agreeable  
‘ to them, and none nearer to them in their affec-  
‘ tions.



‘ tions. And then, ‘ said he, ‘ do not you think, that  
 ‘ we must be ashamed to see you abroad faring  
 ‘ hard, when we ourselves are in houses, and seem  
 ‘ to have so much the advantage of you ?’ ———  
 When *Chryfantas* had said this, more many concurred with him in it.

AFTER this he entered the royal palace, and they that conveyed the treasures from *Sardes* delivered them up there. When *Cyrus* entered, he first sacrificed to the goddess *Vesta*, and then to regal *Jove*, and to whatever other deity the *Mages* thought proper. Having done this, he now began to regulate other affairs. And considering what his business was, and that he was taking upon him the government of great multitudes of men, he prepared to take up his habitation in the greatest city of all that were of note in the world, and this city had as great enmity to him as any city could have to a man.

TAKING these things into his consideration, he thought himself in want of a guard about his person ; and well knowing, that men are at no time so much exposed as while they are eating, or drinking, or bathing, or upon their bed, or asleep, he examined with himself, what sort of people he might have about him, that might be best trusted upon those occasions. And he was of opinion, that no man could ever be trusted, who should love another more than the person who wanted his guard. Those men therefore that had sons or wives that were agreeable to them, or youths that they were fond of, he judged to be under a natural necessity of loving them best. And observing that eunuchs were deprived of all these things, he thought that they would have the greatest affection for those that were able to enrich them the most, to redress them in case of any wrong done them, and to bestow honours



nours upon them. And in his bounty to these people, he thought that no one could exceed himself. Besides all this, eunuchs being the object of other men's contempt, are, for this reason, in want of a master to countenance and support them. For there is no man that does not think it his due to assume the upper-hand of an eunuch in every thing, unless some superior power controul him in it. But nothing hinders an eunuch from having the upper-hand of all in his fidelity to his master. That eunuchs were destitute of all vigour, which is what most people think; this did not appear to him to be so: And he grounded his argument upon the example of other animals; for vicious horses, when they are cut, give over biting indeed and being vicious, but are not at all the less fit for service in war. And bulls that are so served, throw off their insolence and untractableness, but they are not deprived of their strength and fitness for labour. Dogs in like manner that are cut, give over the trick of leaving their masters, but for watching and for their use in hunting they are not at all the worse. And men, in the same manner, become the more gentle by being deprived of this desire; but they are not the less careful of things that are given them in charge, nor are they worse horse-men, nor less able at throwing of the javelin; nor less desirous of honour. And they have made it evident that both in war and in hunting, they still preserve emulation in their minds. And with respect to their fidelity upon occasion of their masters being destroyed, they have stood the greatest trials. And no men have ever shewn greater instances of fidelity in the misfortunes of their masters, than eunuchs have done. But if they may be thought to have lost something of the strength of their bodies; arms perhaps make it up,

X 2

and



and put the weak and the strong upon the same level in war.

JUDGING things to be thus, he began, from his door-keepers, and chose all those that officiated about his person from the eunuchs. But then being of opinion, that this was not a sufficient guard against the great multitude of people that were disaffected towards him, he considered whom he should take from amongst all the rest, as the most faithful for his guard around the palace. Observing therefore, that the *Persians* while at home, were those that fared the hardest, upon the account of their poverty, and lived in the most laborious manner, because their country was rocky and barren, and they themselves forced to work with their own hands ; he thought these would be the most pleased with that sort of life that they lived with him. Out of these therefore he took ten thousand lance-men, who kept guard both night and day round about the palace, whilst he kept quiet at home. And when he went abroad, they marched with him, ranged in order on every side of him. Then thinking it necessary that there should be a guard sufficient for the whole city, whether he were there present himself or absent abroad, he established a sufficient garrison in *Babylon*, and appointed the *Babylonians* to supply these men likewise with their pay, intending to distress them as much as he could, that they might be reduced to the lowest condition, and be the most easily managed. This guard that was then established about his own person, and in *Babylon*, continues upon the same foot at this day.

THEN taking into his consideration, how his whole dominion might be maintained, and more might be acquired ; he was of opinion, that these mercenaries were not so much better than the people subjected as they were fewer in number. He  
determined



determined therefore, that he ought to retain those brave men, who had with the assistance of the gods helped him to his conquest; and take care that they should not grow remiss in the practice of virtue. And that he might not seem to order and direct them; but that as judging of themselves what was best, they might persevere in virtue and cultivate it; he called together the alike honoured and all such as were proper, as well as those whom he thought worthy to share with him, both in his labours and advantages; and when they were met, he spoke to this effect.

‘ My friends and allies! we owe the greatest  
‘ thanks to the gods, for having granted us the  
‘ things of which we thought ourselves worthy.  
‘ For we are now possessed of a very large and no-  
‘ ble country, and of people, who, by their labour  
‘ in the culture of it, will maintain us. We have  
‘ houses, and furniture in them. And let none of you  
‘ imagine that by his possession he holds things that  
‘ are foreign and not belonging to him. For it is a  
‘ perpetual law amongst all men, that when a city  
‘ is taken from an enemy, both the persons, and  
‘ treasures of the inhabitants belong to the captors.  
‘ Whatever it is therefore that you possess, you do  
‘ not possess it unjustly; but whatever you suffer  
‘ them to keep, it is in benignity and love to man-  
‘ kind, that you do not take it away.—As to  
‘ the time to come, my judgment is this.—  
‘ If we turn ourselves to a negligent and abandoned  
‘ course of life, and to the luxury and pleasure of  
‘ vicious men, who think labour to be the greatest  
‘ misery, and a life of ease to be a pleasure; then,  
‘ I say, we shall presently become of less value in  
‘ ourselves, and shall presently lose all our advan-  
‘ tages. For to have been once brave men, is not



sufficient in order to continue brave men, unless  
 one continue careful of one's self to the end. But  
 as all other arts, when neglected, sink in their  
 worth ; and as in the case of our bodies, when  
 in good condition, if we abandon them to a course  
 of laziness and inactivity, they become again fault-  
 ty and deficient ; so a discreet temper of mind,  
 temperance and the command of our passions, and  
 courage, when a man remits the practice of them,  
 from thenceforward turn again into vice. We  
 ought not therefore to be remiss, nor throw our-  
 selves immediately upon every present pleasure.  
 For I think it a great thing to acquire a dominion,  
 and yet a greater to preserve it when acquired.  
 For to acquire, often befalls a man who contri-  
 butes nothing towards it but boldness in the at-  
 tempt. But to preserve an acquisition, that one  
 has made ; this cannot be done, without discre-  
 tion, nor without the command of one's passions,  
 nor without care. And knowing things to be  
 thus, we ought to be much more careful in  
 the practice of virtue now, than before we  
 made these valuable acquisitions ; well knowing,  
 that when a man has most in his possession, he then  
 most abounds in those that envy him, that forms  
 designs against him, and that are his enemies ;  
 especially if he hold the possessions and service  
 of men, as we do, against their wills. The gods,  
 we ought to believe, will be with us ; for we are  
 not got into an unjust possession of these things,  
 by designs and contrivances of our own to get  
 them ; but upon designs that have been formed  
 against us, we have revenged ourselves in the  
 punishment of the contrivers.—The next best  
 thing after this, is what we must take care to  
 provide ourselves with ; and that is, to be better  
 than the people that are subjected and to deserve  
 to rule. In heat therefore, and in cold, in meat  
 and



‘ and drink, in labours and in rest, we must of necessity allow our servants a share. But while we share with them in these things, we should endeavour to appear superior to them in all of them. But in the knowledge and practice of military affairs, we are not to allow any share at all, to such as we intend to have as labourers and tributaries to us ; but in all exercises of this kind, we must preserve the ascendent ; determining within ourselves, that the gods have set these things before men, as the instruments and means of liberty and happiness. And as we have taken arms away from them, so ought we never to be without them ourselves ; well knowing, that they who have always their arms the nearest at hand, have what they desire the most at their command. If any one suggests to himself such things as this ; as, what advantage is it to us to effect what we desire, if we must still bear hunger and thirst, labour and application ? This man ought to learn, that good things give so much the more delight, as one takes the more pains before-hand to attain them. Labour and pains are what gives a relish to all good things. Without being in want of a thing, there is nothing that can be acquired, tho’ never so noble, that can be pleasant. If some divinity have afforded us the things that men the most desire ; in order to have them appear the pleasantest, every one will make them so to himself. And such a man will have as much the advantage of those that live more necessitous, as he will get the pleasantest food when he is hungry, enjoy the pleasantest drink when he is thirsty, and when he wants rest, can take it in the pleasantest manner. Upon all these accounts, I say, we must charge ourselves with the part of brave and excellent men, that we may enjoy our advantages in the best manner and with the most pleasure, and that



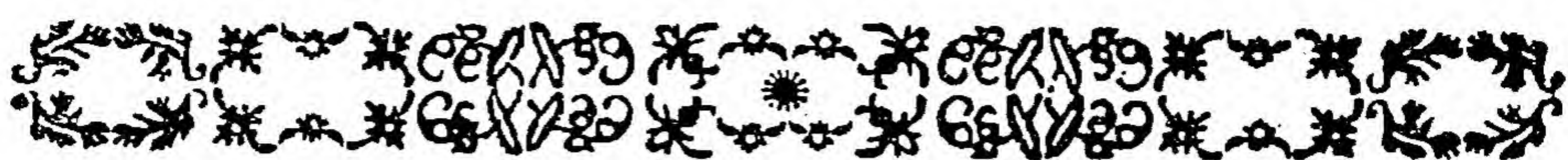
‘ we may never come to experience the greatest  
 ‘ hardship in the world. For it is not so hard a  
 ‘ matter to gain advantages, as it is afflicting to be  
 ‘ deprived of them, after one has obtained them.  
 ‘ Consider then, what pretence we can have to  
 ‘ choose to be worse than before. Is it because we  
 ‘ have obtained dominion ? But it does not become  
 ‘ a prince to be more vicious than those that are  
 ‘ under his command. But perhaps it may be,  
 ‘ because we seem to be more prosperous and hap-  
 ‘ py than before. Will any man say then that vice  
 ‘ is to be indulged to prosperity ? But perhaps since  
 ‘ we have acquired slaves, if they are vicious we  
 ‘ will punish them ; and how does it become one  
 ‘ that is vicious himself, to punish others for vice  
 ‘ and sloth ? Consider this farther, that we are pre-  
 ‘ paring to maintain abundance of men, as guards  
 ‘ to our houses and persons. And how can it be  
 ‘ otherwise, than base in us, to think it fit, to have  
 ‘ others as guards of our own safety, and not to  
 ‘ be guards to ourselves ? And you ought to be  
 ‘ well assured that there is no other guard so secure,  
 ‘ as to be one’s self an excellent and worthy man.  
 ‘ This must keep you company. For with one that  
 ‘ is destitute of virtue, nothing else ought to go  
 ‘ well.---What then do I say you should do ? Where  
 ‘ practise virtue ? Where apply to the exercise of  
 ‘ it ?---Nothing new, my friends, will I tell you.  
 ‘ But as the alike-honoured among *Persians*, pass  
 ‘ their time about the courts ; so I say it is our part,  
 ‘ being all alike-honoured here, to practise the  
 ‘ same things that are practised there. It’s your part  
 ‘ to attend here ; keeping your eyes upon me, to ob-  
 ‘ serve, if I continue careful of the things that I  
 ‘ ought to be careful of. I will keep my eyes intent  
 ‘ upon you, and such as I see practising things good  
 ‘ and excellent I will reward. The sons that we  
 ‘ have



‘ have we shall here instruct ; we shall be ourselves  
‘ the better, by being desirous to shew ourselves  
‘ the best examples to them that we can. And the  
‘ boys will not easily become vicious, not even  
‘ though they incline to it, when they neither see  
‘ nor hear any thing that is mean or base, and pass  
‘ their whole time under excellent institutions.’







*CYRROPÆDIA:*  
OR, THE  
INSTITUTION  
OF  
*CYRUS.*

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By *XENOPHON.*

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BOOK VIII.

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HUS then *Cyrus* spoke; after him, *Chry-*  
*santas* rose and spoke in this manner. ‘ I  
‘ have frequently at other times observed,  
‘ my friends! that a good prince is not at  
‘ all different from a good father. For fathers are  
‘ careful to provide that their children may never  
‘ come to fail of what is for their advantage; and  
‘ *Cyrus* seems now to me, to advise us to such things  
‘ as will make us pass our days in the most fortu-  
‘ nate and happy manner. But what I think he has  
‘ been defective in laying open, this I will endea-  
‘ vour to explain to those that are not apprized of  
‘ it. For have you considered what city belonging  
‘ to



‘ to an enemy can possibly be taken by men that  
‘ are not obedient to command ? And what city  
‘ that belongs to those that are friends, can be pre-  
‘ served by men that are not obedient ? And what  
‘ army consisting of men disobedient and refracto-  
‘ ry, can be victorious ? How can men sooner be  
‘ defeated in battle, than when every one begins  
‘ separately to consult his own particular safety ?  
‘ or what other valuable thing can be performed by  
‘ such as do not submit to the direction of their bet-  
‘ ters ? What cities are they that are justly and  
‘ wisely regulated ? What are those families that  
‘ preserve themselves in safety ? And how come  
‘ ships to arrive whither they are bound ? By what  
‘ other means have we obtained the advantages we  
‘ have, more than by obedience to our commander ?  
‘ By this we have been presently ready at our pro-  
‘ per posts ; and by following our commander in  
‘ in compact order, we have been irresistible ; and  
‘ of things that have been given us in charge, we  
‘ have left none executed by halves. Therefore,  
‘ if obedience to command be of the greatest advan-  
‘ tage, with respect to the making acquisitions ; be  
‘ you assured, that it is in the same manner of the  
‘ greatest advantage, with respect to the preserving  
‘ what is fit for us to preserve. Heretofore we  
‘ were subject to the commands of many, and com-  
‘ manded none ourselves ; but now you are all up-  
‘ on a foot of bearing rule, some over more, and  
‘ some over less. Therefore, as you desire to rule  
‘ those that are under you, so let us all submit to  
‘ those that it becomes us to submit to. We ought  
‘ to distinguish ourselves so far from slaves, as that  
‘ slaves do service to their masters against their wills ;  
‘ and if we desire to be free, we ought willingly to  
‘ perform what appears to be most excellent and  
‘ worthy. You will find,’ said he, ‘ that where a  
‘ people



‘ people are under a government that is not mo-  
 ‘ narchical, and are most ready to pay obedience  
 ‘ to their rulers, they are always least liable to the  
 ‘ necessity of submitting to their enemies. Let us  
 ‘ therefore attend about the palace as *Cyrus* orders ;  
 ‘ let us practise those things that will best enable us  
 ‘ to hold what we ought ; and let us yield ourselves  
 ‘ to *Cyrus*, to make use of us in what is proper.  
 ‘ For you ought to be well assured, that it is not  
 ‘ possible for *Cyrus* to find any thing that he can  
 ‘ make an advantage of to himself, and that is not  
 ‘ so to us, since the same things are alike servicea-  
 ‘ ble to us both, and we have both the same ene-  
 ‘ mies.’

WHEN *Chryfantas* had said this. Many more,  
 both *Persians* and allies, rose up and spoke to the  
 same effect. And it was determined, that the men  
 of note and quality should always attend at *Cyrus*’s  
 doors, and yield themselves to his service, in what-  
 ever he thought fit, till he himself dismissed them.  
 And according as it was then determined, so do  
 those in *Asia*, that are under the king, do yet at  
 this day. And they attend at the doors of their  
 princes. And as in this discourse it is shewn, how  
*Cyrus* established things in order to secure the do-  
 minion to himself, and to the *Persians* ; so do the  
 kings his successors continue to put the same things  
 in practice as laws to this day. But it is in this, as  
 in other things ; when there is a better director,  
 the established rules are executed more strictly, and  
 when there is a worse, more negligently. The men  
 of note therefore frequented the gates of *Cyrus*, with  
 their horses and lances ; this being the joint deter-  
 mination of all the best of those that concurred with  
 him in the overthrow of this empire.

*CYRUS* then constituted different officers to take  
 care of different affairs. He had his receivers of  
 the



the revenues ; his pay-masters, overseers of his works, keepers of his treasures, and officers to provide things that were proper for his table. He appointed as masters of his horse and of his dogs, such as he thought would provide him with the best of these kinds of creatures for his use. But as to those whom he thought fit to have as joint-guardians of his power and grandeur, he himself took care to have them the best ; he did not give this in charge to others, but thought it his own business. He knew that in case he were at any time obliged to come to a battle, they that were to stand by him on each side, and to support him in the rear, were to be taken from amongst these, with these he was to engage in the greatest dangers. Out of these he knew he was to constitute the commanders of his several bodies of foot and horse, and if he were in want of generals to serve any where in his own absence, out of these he knew they were to be sent. Some of these he knew he was to use as guardians and satraps of cities and whole nations ; and some of them were to be sent out as ambassadors ; and this he thought a thing of the greatest consequence with respect to the obtaining what he desired without a war. If they therefore that were to be entrusted with the management of most affairs, and of affairs of the greatest consequence, were not such as they should be, he thought matters would go very ill with him ; but if they were such as they should be, he reckoned that affairs would go very well.

THIS being his judgment, he therefore took this care upon him, and he reckoned that he himself was to engage in the same exercise of virtue. For he thought it not possible for one who was not himself such as he should be, to incite others to great and noble actions. Upon these considerations, he  
thought



thought leisure in the first place necessary, if he intended to have it in his power to take care of the principal affairs. He reckoned it therefore impossible for him to be negligent of his revenues; foreseeing that upon a great dominion, he must of necessity be at a great expence. But then, on the other side, his possessions being very great, to be himself always taken up about them, he thought would leave him no leisure to take care of the safety of the whole.

So taking into his consideration how his œconomy might be settled upon a good foot, and he, at the same time, might have leisure; he observed the order of an army. For as the commanders of tens take care of their several decads; the captains, of the commanders of tens; the commanders of thousands, of the captains: the commanders of ten thousand, of the commanders of thousands; by which means, no one is left without care, though an army consists of many times ten thousand men; and when a general has any service for the army to do, it is enough for him to give his orders to the commanders of ten thousand. In like manner as these affairs were regulated, *Cyrus* accordingly ranged the affairs of his household under certain heads: and thus *Cyrus* by discoursing with a few people was enabled to have the affairs of his œconomy taken care of; and after this, he had yet more leisure than another man who had but a single house or single ship in charge. Having thus settled his own affairs, he taught others to use the same method; and so procured leisure both for himself and for those about him.

He then began to take upon him the business of making his companions in power such as they should be. And in the first place, as many as were able to subsist by the labour of others, and were  
not



not attending at his doors, these he enquired into; reckoning, that they who did attend would not be guilty of any base and vile action, both by reason of their being near their prince, and that in whatever they did they would be observed by the most excellent men. They that did not attend, he reckoned absented themselves, either out of their indulgence of some vicious passion, or upon the account of some unjust practice, or out of negligence. Being first therefore convinced of this in his judgment, he brought all such men under a necessity of attending. For he ordered some one of those about him that were his chief friends to seize what belonged to the person that did not attend, and to declare that it belonged to himself. When this was done, they that were dispossessed immediately came and complained, as persons that had been wronged, *Cyrus* of a great while was not at leisure to give such men a hearing? and when he had heard them, he deferred the decision of the matter a long while. By acting thus, he thought he accustomed them to make their court, and with less ill will to him, than if he himself had forced them to attend, by inflicting punishments upon them. This was one method of instruction that he used, in order to make men attend upon him. Another was, to command those that attended upon such services, as were most easy to execute and most profitable. Another was, never to allow the absent a share in any advantage. But the chief method of all that he used to necessitate men to attend, was this, that in case a man did not yield obedience to these other methods, he then took what he had from him, and gave it to another man that he thought would be able to attend upon the proper occasions. And thus he gained a useful friend, instead of a useless one. And  
the



the present king still makes enquiry, whether any one of those be absent whose part it is to attend.

IN this manner, did he carry himself to those that did not attend upon him. But those that afforded him their attendance and service, he thought he should best excite to great and noble actions; if he, being their prince, should endeavour to shew himself to those whom he governed, the most accomplished of all in virtue. For he thought he observed, that men were the better for written laws, but a good prince, he reckoned, was to men a seeing-law; because he was able both to give directions, to see the man that acted irregularly, and to punish him.

THIS being his judgment, he shewed himself, in the first place, the more industrious to discharge himself in all dues to the GODS, at that time when he was in the most fortunate circumstances. And then were first appointed certain *Mages* to sing a HYMN to the GODS, always as soon as it was day, and every day both to sacrifice to such DEITIES as the *Mages* should direct. And the establishments that were thus made at that time continue in use with the king that still succeeds in the government, on to this day. The rest of the *Persians* therefore were the first that followed his example in these things; reckoning, that they should be the more fortunate if they served the gods as he did, who was the most fortunate of all, and their prince. And they thought by doing thus they should please *Cyrus*. But *Cyrus* accounted the piety of those about him, an advantage to himself; reckoning as they do, who choose to undertake a voyage in company with men of piety, rather than with such as appear to have been guilty of any thing impious. And besides this, he reckoned that if all his associates were religious, they would be the less apt to be guilty of any thing impious towards each other,



other, or towards him, who thought himself their benefactor. Then by shewing himself to be under great concern and fear of doing injury to any friend or ally, and keeping steadily to the rule of justice, he thought that others would abstain the more from base gains, and would take care that their revenue should arise to them by just methods. And he was of opinion that he should the better inspire other men with respect and awe, if he himself appeared to pay so great a respect to all, as never to say or do any thing shameful and vile. And that it would fall out thus, he grounded his arguments upon this ; that not only in the case of a prince, but even of such as men had no fear of, they paid more respect to those that behaved respectfully than they did to the impudent. And such women as they observed to be modest and respectful, they were the more ready to pay respect to. And he thought that a temper of obedience would be the more firmly established in those about him, if he appeared to bestow greater rewards upon the obedient, than upon those that seemed possessed of the greatest and most elaborate virtues. In this opinion and in this practice he always continued. And then by shewing his own goodness and modesty of temper, he made all others the more ready to practise it ; for when men see one that has it most in his power to behave with haughtiness and insolence, behave with this modesty and goodness of temper, then, even those of the lowest degree, are the more willing to be seen acting without any manner of insolence. He distinguished that respect and awe from this goodness of temper in this manner. That they who were possessed with this awe, avoided things that were shameful and vile, while they were exposed to the eyes of others ; but that the modest and good-tempered did it even in the dark. He thought likewise



to make men practise a command of their passions best ; by shewing that he himself was not drawn away, by present pleasures, from the pursuit of good and excellent things ; and that he preferred toil and labour in the pursuit of a noble end before all delights. Being therefore such a man himself, he established an excellent order at his doors. The meaner sort submitting to the better, and all behaving with great awe and decency, one towards another. You should not see any one there in anger, breaking out into noise and clamour, nor expressing an insulting pleasure in insolent laughter. But to see them you would think that they really lived in the most comely and noble manner. In the practice of such things as these, and with such things always before their eyes, they passed their days at the doors of *Cyrus*.

But then in order to inure them to the practice of military affairs ; he led out all those to hunt that he thought proper to exercise in that manner ; reckoning this the best method of practising all such things as relate to war, as well as the truest exercise of the art of riding : for this helps them the most of any thing, to sit firm on horseback, in all sorts of ground, by means of their pursuing the wild beasts in their flight ; and this the most of any thing makes them capable of acting on horseback, by means of their love of praise and desire of taking their game. And by this he chiefly accustomed his associates to gain a command over their passions, and to be able to bear toil, to bear cold and heat, hunger and thirst. And the king that now reigns together with those that are about him, continue still the same practice.

It is evident, therefore, by what has been before said, that he thought dominion became no one, that was not himself better than those whom he governed



ed. And that, by thus exercising these about him, he inured himself the most of all to a command of his passions, and to all military arts and exercises. For he led out others abroad to hunt, when there was no necessity that obliged him to stay at home; and when there was any such necessity, he then hunted the beasts that were maintained in his parks. He never took his supper before he gave himself a sweat; nor did he ever throw food to his horses before they were exercised. And he invited his eunuchs abroad with him to this hunting. He himself therefore greatly excelled in all noble performances; and they that were about him likewise did so, by means of their continual exercise. In this manner he made himself an example to others. And besides this, whosoever he saw the most zealous in the pursuit of generous actions, such he rewarded with presents, with commands, with placing them in the principal seats, and with all other honours. So that he raised a mighty emulation amongst all, to try by what means every one might appear to *Cyrus* the most deserving.

AND, I think, I have likewise heard concerning *Cyrus*; that he was of opinion, that princes ought to excel those that are under their dominion, not only in being better than they, but that they ought likewise to play the impostors with them. He chose therefore to wear the *Median* robe, and persuaded his associates to put it on; for in case a man had any thing defective in his person, he thought that this concealed it, and made those that wore it appear the handsomest, and the tallest. And they have a sort of shoe where they may fit in something under their feet, without its being seen, so as to make themselves appear taller than they really are. He allowed them also to paint under their eyes, that they might appear to have finer eyes than they really had; and to paint themselves, that they might ap-

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pear



pear to be of better complexions than they naturally were of. He took care likewise to use them not to be seen to spit, or blow the nose, or turn aside to gaze at any spectacle, as if they were men that admired nothing. And all these things he thought contributed something to their appearing the more awful to the people that were subject to his dominion.

THOSE that he thought the proper persons to share by his own means in the dominion with him, he disciplined in this manner; and by acting himself at the head of them, in the same venerable and majestic way. But those that he managed for servitude, he never encouraged to the practice of ingenuous labours, nor allowed them the possession of arms; but took care that they should never go without their meat and drink for the sake of these liberal exercises; for when with their horse they drove out the wild beasts into the plains, he allowed meat and drink to be carried for the use of these people during the hunt, but not for any of the ingenuous. And when he was upon a march, he led them to water as he did the beasts of burthen; and when the time for dinner came, he waited 'till they had eat something that they might not be distressed with hunger. So that these people, as the better sort likewise did, called him their father, for taking care that beyond all doubt they should always continue slaves.

THUS he provided for the security of the whole *Persian* dominion. But he was very confident, that he himself was in no danger of meeting with any mischief from the people that were conquered; for he reckoned them weak and dispirited, and he observed them destitute of all order, and besides none of them ever came near him by night or day. But such as he reckoned the better sort, that he saw armed and in compact order; some of them, commanders



manders of horse, and some of foot, and many of them that he perceived with spirits equal to rule, that were next to his own guards, and many of whom were frequently in company with himself, (for there was a necessity that it should be so, because he was to make use of them,) from these there was the most danger of his receiving mischief many ways. Therefore taking into his consideration how matters might be made safe for him in this respect ; to take away their arms from them, and to render them unfit for war, he did not approve ; both accounting it unjust, and believing it to be a dissolution of his empire. And then again not to admit them to his presence, and openly to distrust them, he reckoned the beginning and foundation of a war. Instead of all these things, there was one that he determined to be the best for his security, and the handsomest of all ; which was, to try if possibly he could make the better sort of men more friends to himself than to one another.

By what means therefore it was that, in my opinion, he came to be beloved, I will endeavour to relate. For first, he constantly at all times displayed as much as he could his own good nature and love to mankind ; reckoning, that as it is no easy matter for men to love those, who seem to hate them, or to bear good-will to those that have ill intentions towards them ; so it was not possible for those that were known to love and bear good-will, to be hated by such as thought themselves beloved. Therefore, whilst he had it not so much in his power to bestow rich benefits upon them, he endeavoured to captivate their affections, by preventing his companions in care and in pains, by appearing pleased with their advantages, and afflicted at their misfortunes : but when he had wherewithal to be



bountiful to them, he seems to me to have known in the first place, that there is no benefaction amongst men, that is of equal expence and is so grateful, as the sharing meat and drink with them.

AND being of this opinion, he first regulated his table, so as to have placed before him as many of the same things that he eat of himself as were sufficient for great numbers of people. And all that was set before him, except what was used by himself and his guests, he distributed to such of his friends, as he intended to shew that he remembered or had a kindness for. He sent likewise about to such as he happened to be pleased with ; whether they were employed upon the guard any where, or attended to pay their court to him, or were concerned in any other affairs. And this he did, in order to signify, that they who were desirous to do what was pleasing to him, were not to be concealed from him. He paid the same honour from his table to his own domesticks, when he had a mind to give any of them his commendation. And all the meat that belonged to his domesticks, he placed upon his own table ; thinking, that, as in the case of children, so this would gain him some good-will from them. And if he had a mind that any of his friends should have great numbers of people attend and pay their court to them, he sent them presents from his table. For even yet at this day, all people make the greater court to such, as they observe to have things sent them from off the king's table ; because they reckon them men in great honour and esteem, and that in case they want any thing to be done, they are able to effect it for them. And besides, it is not only upon these accounts, that have been mentioned, that the things sent from the king are pleasing, but things, that come from the king's table, do really very much excel in point of pleasure. And that it should be so, is not at all to be wondered at.

—————For



——For as other arts are wrought up in great cities to a greater degree of perfection; in the same manner are the meats that come from the king dressed in greater perfection. For in little cities the same people make both the frame of a couch, a door, a plough, and a table; and frequently the same person is a builder too, and very well satisfied he is, if he meet with customers enough to maintain him. It is impossible therefore, for a man that makes a great many different things, to do them all well. But in great cities, because there are multitudes that want every particular thing, one art alone is sufficient for the maintenance of every one. And frequently not an entire one neither; but one man makes shoes for men, another for women. Sometimes it happens, that one gets a maintenance by sewing shoes together, another by cutting them out, one by cutting cloths only, and another, without doing any of these things, is maintained by fitting together the pieces so cut out. He therefore that deals in a business that lies within a little compass, must of necessity do it the best. The case is the same with respect to the business of a table; for he that has the same man to cover and adorn the frame of a couch, to set out the table, to knead the dough, to dress the several different meats, must necessarily, in my opinion, fare in each particular as it happens. But where it is business enough for one man to boil meat, for another to roast it, for one to boil fish, and for another to broil it, where it is business enough for one man to make bread, and that not of every sort neither, but that it is enough for him to furnish one sort good, each man, in my opinion, must of necessity work up the things that are thus made, to a very great perfection.——He, therefore, by this kind of management greatly exceeded all other people in this sort of courtship, by presents of meat.



AND how he came likewise to be greatly superior in all other ways of gaining upon men, I will now relate. For he that so much exceeded other men in the multitude of his revenues, exceeded them yet more in the multitude of his presents. *Cyrus* therefore began it ; and this custom of making abundance of presents, continues to this day, practised by the kings his successors. Who is there that is known to have richer friends than the *Persian* king has ? who is known to set out the people about him in finer habits than this king does ? Whose presents are known to be such as some of those which this king makes ? as bracelets and collars, and horses with bridles of gold. For it is not allowed there that any one should have these things, but he that the king gives them to. What other man is there that can be said to make himself be preferred before brothers, fathers or children by his great presents ? What other man has power to chastise his enemies that are many months journey distance from him, as the *Persian* king has ? What other man but *Cyrus*, after having overturned an empire, ever died and had the title of FATHER given him by the people he subjected ? For it is plain that this is the name of one that bestows rather than of one that takes away.

WE have been likewise informed, that he gained those men, that are called the eyes and the ears of the king, by no other means, than by making them presents, and by bestowing honours and rewards upon them. For by being very bountiful to those that gave him an account of what was proper for him to be informed of, he set abundance of people upon the search both with ears and eyes, to find what information they should give the king that might be useful to him. Upon this the eyes of the king were reckoned to be very numerous, and his



his ears so too. But if any one think proper for a king, to choose but one person as his eye, he judges not right. For one man would see but few things, and one man would hear but few things, and if this were given in charge to one only, it would be as if the rest were ordered to neglect it. Besides, whoever was known to be this eye, people would know, that they were to be upon their guard against him. This then is not the course that is taken. But the king hears every one, that says he has heard or seen any thing worthy his attending to. By this means, the ears and eyes of the king are reckoned to be in great number. And people are every where afraid of saying any thing to the king's prejudice, as if he himself heard them; and of doing any thing to his prejudice, as if he himself were present. So that no one durst mention any thing scandalous concerning *Cyrus* to any body; but every one stood so disposed, as if they were always amidst the eyes and ears of the king, whatever company they were in.

I KNOW not what cause any one can better assign, for such a disposition in men towards him, than that he thought fit to bestow great benefits in return of little ones. And it is not to be wondered at, that he, who was the richest of all, exceeded others in the greatness of his presents; but that one possessed of the royal dignity should exceed others in the culture and care of his friends, this is a thing more worthy of notice! He is said never to have appeared so much ashamed of being outdone in any thing, as in the culture of his friends. And a saying of his is recorded; expressing, ‘ That the business of  
‘ a good herds-man and of a good king, were very  
‘ near alike; for a herds-man, he said, ought to  
‘ provide for the welfare and happiness of the herd,  
‘ and make use of them consistently with the happi-  
‘ ness



‘ nels of those creatures ; and that a king ought in  
 ‘ the same manner to make men and cities happy,  
 ‘ and in the same manner to make use of them.’  
 It is no wonder therefore, if this were his sentiment, that he had an ambition to out-do all in the culture of men.

AND *Cyrus* is said to have given this noble instance to *Cræsus*, on a certain time, when *Cræsus* suggested to him, that by the multitude of presents that he made, he would be a beggar, when it was in his power to lay up at home mighty treasures of gold, for the use of one. It is said that *Cyrus* then asked him thus. ‘ What sums do you think, I should now  
 ‘ have in possession, if I had been hoarding up gold  
 ‘ as you bid me, ever since I have been in power ?’  
 And that *Cræsus* in reply, named some mighty sum, and that *Cyrus* to this said. ‘ Well *Cræsus* ! do you  
 ‘ send with *Hystaspes* here, some person that you  
 ‘ have most confidence in ; and do you, *Hystaspes* !’  
 said he, ‘ go about to my friends, tell them that I  
 ‘ am in want of money for a certain affair, (and in  
 ‘ reality I am in want of it,) and bid them furnish  
 ‘ me, with as much as they are each of them able  
 ‘ to do ; and that writing it down and signing it,  
 ‘ they deliver the letter to *Cræsus*’s officer to bring  
 ‘ me.’ Then writing down what he had said and signing it, he gave it to *Hystaspes* to carry it to his friends, but added in the letter to them all, ‘ that  
 ‘ they should receive *Hystaspes* as his friend.’ After they had gone round, and that *Cræsus*’s officer brought the letters ; *Hystaspes* said, ‘ O *Cyrus* ! my  
 ‘ king ! you must now make use of me as a rich  
 ‘ man, for here do I attend you, abounding in presents that have been made me upon the account  
 ‘ of your letter.’ *Cyrus* upon this said, ‘ This then  
 ‘ is one treasure to me, *Cræsus* ! but look over the  
 ‘ others,



‘ others, and reckon up what riches there are there  
‘ ready for me, in case I want for my own use.’

*Cræsus* upon calculation, is said to have found many times the sum, that he told *Cyrus* he might now have had in his treasury, if he hoarded. When it appeared to be thus, *Cyrus* is reported to have said.

‘ You see, *Cræsus* ! that I have my treasures  
‘ too ; but you bid me hoard them up, to be en-  
‘ vied and hated for them : you bid me place hired  
‘ guards upon them, and in those to put my trust.  
‘ But I make my friends rich, and reckon them to  
‘ be treasures to me, and guards both to myself,  
‘ and to all things of value that belong to us, and  
‘ such as are more to be trusted, than if I set up a  
‘ guard of hirelings. Besides, [there’s another thing  
‘ that I will tell you : what the gods have wrought  
‘ into the souls of men, and by it have made them  
‘ all equally indigent, this, *Cræsus* ! I am not  
‘ able to get the better of.’ For I am, as others are,  
‘ insatiably greedy of riches. But I reckon I  
‘ differ from most others in this : that when they  
‘ have acquired more than is sufficient for them,  
‘ some of those treasures they bury under ground,  
‘ and some they let decay and spoil, and others  
‘ they give themselves a great deal of trouble about,  
‘ in telling, in measuring, in weighing, airing and  
‘ watching them ; and tho’ they have all these  
‘ things at home, they neither eat more than they  
‘ are able to bear, for they would burst, nor do  
‘ they put on more cloaths than they can bear, for  
‘ they would suffocate ; but all their superfluous  
‘ treasures they have only for business and trouble.  
‘ Whereas I serve the gods, and am never desirous  
‘ of more ; and when I have acquired it, out of  
‘ what I find to be more than suffices me, I satisfy  
‘ the wants of my friends ; and by enriching men  
‘ with



‘ with it, and by doing them kindneſſes, I gain  
 ‘ their good-will and their friendſhip, and obtain ſe-  
 ‘ curity and glory, things that do not corrupt and  
 ‘ ſpoil, and do not diſtreſs one by over-abounding.  
 ‘ But glory, the more there is of it, the greater  
 ‘ and more noble it is, and the lighter to bear, and  
 ‘ thoſe that bear it, it often makes the lighter and  
 ‘ eaſier. And that you may be ſenſible of this,  
 ‘ *Croesus!*’ ſaid he, ‘ they that poſſeſs the moſt and  
 ‘ have moſt in their cuſtody, I do not reckon the  
 ‘ happieſt men. For then would guards upon the  
 ‘ walls be the happieſt of all men, for they have  
 ‘ the cuſtody of all that there is in whole cities;  
 ‘ but the perſon that can acquire the moſt with juſ-  
 ‘ tice, and uſe the moſt with honour, him do I  
 ‘ reckon the happieſt man; and this I reckon to be  
 ‘ riches.’

AND as he expreſſed theſe things, ſo he appa-  
 rently practiſed them. But, beſides all this, having  
 obſerved, that moſt men, if they enjoy health, take  
 care to provide themſelves with all things fitting  
 and lay up all things that are of uſe with reſpect to  
 a healthy courſe of life; but how to be ſupplied with  
 things that are of ſervice in caſe they are ſick, of  
 this he obſerved they were not very careful. He  
 therefore thought proper to be at pains to provide  
 himſelf with theſe things. He got together the beſt  
 phyſicians about him by his being willing to be at  
 the expence of it. And whatever inſtruments, me-  
 dicines, meats, or drinks, any one told him, to be  
 of uſe; there was nothing of all theſe that he did  
 not provide himſelf with, and treasure up. And  
 when any of thoſe whom it was proper for him to  
 take care of, fell ill, he went himſelf to ſee them,  
 and furniſhed them with whatever they wanted;  
 and was thankful to the phyſicians whenever they  
 cured any one, and took the things which they  
 uſed



used from out of what he had in store. These and many such things did he contrive, in order to gain the principal place in the affections of those by whom he desired to be beloved.

THEN all those affairs, wherein he appointed games, established prizes; with intention to raise an emulation in men, to perform great and noble things; those gained *Cyrus* the applause, of taking care, that virtue should be kept in practice. But these very games created strife and emulation amongst the better sort of men. And besides, *Cyrus* established as a law, that whatever required a determination, whether it were a matter of right, or a dispute relating to the games, the parties requiring such determination, should have joint recourse to certain judges. It is plain therefore, that both the parties at variance, aimed at pitching upon such judges as were the best and the most their friends: and he that lost his cause, envied him that carried it and hated those that did not give the cause for himself: he that carried his cause, attributed the success to the justice of it, so reckoned he owed no-body thanks. They that aimed at being in chief in the friendship and esteem of *Cyrus*, like others in certain cities, bore envy to each other; so that most of them rather wished each other out of the way, than ever acted in concert together, for their mutual advantage. These things make it evident by what-means, he made all the considerable men more affectionate to himself, than they were to one another.

BUT now we will relate how *Cyrus*, for the first time, marched in procession out of the palace. For the majesty of this procession, seems to me, to have been one of those arts, that made his government not liable to contempt. First therefore, before he made this procession, he called in to him, all those, both *Persians* and others, that were possessed of commands,



mands, and distributed to them *Median* robes. (And it was then that the *Persians* first put on the *Median* robe.) Having distributed these, he told them, that he intended to march in procession to those portions of ground that had been chosen and set apart for the gods, and to make a sacrifice accompanied with them. ‘Attend therefore,’ said he, ‘at the gates, before the rising of the sun, adorned with these robes, and form yourselves, as *Pheraulas* the *Persian* shall give you orders from me. And when I lead the way, do you follow on in the station assigned you. But if any of you think that our procession will be handsomer in any other manner, than as we march at this time, when we return again, let him inform me; for every thing ought to be so disposed, as shall appear to you to be most beautiful, and noble.’ When he had distributed the finest robes to the greatest men, he then produced other robes of the *Median* sort. For he had provided them in great numbers, and was not sparing either in the purple habits, or those of a dark colour, or in the scarlet, or the murrey. And having distributed a certain portion of these to each of the commanders, he bid them adorn and set out their friends with them, ‘as I,’ said he, ‘adorn you.’ And one of those that were present then, asked him, ‘but when will you, *Cyrus*!’ said he, ‘be adorned yourself?’ To this he replied. ‘And do you not think,’ said he, ‘that I am already adorned, in adorning all you? No matter,’ said he, ‘if I am but able to serve my friends, whatever robe I wear, I shall appear fine in it.’ So these men going their ways, and sending for their friends, adorned them with these robes.

*CYRUS* taking *Pheraulas*, one of the inferior degree of people, to be a man of good understanding, a lover of what was beautiful and orderly, and careful



careful to please him ; the same, that heretofore spoke for every one's being rewarded according to his desert : and calling this man to him, he advised with him how he might make this procession in a manner that might appear the most beautiful to his friends, and most terrible to those that were affected. And when upon joint consideration they both agreed in the same things, he ordered *Pheraulas* to take care that the procession should be made the next morning, in the manner that they had thought proper. ' I have ordered, said he, all to obey you in the disposition and order of this procession. And that they may attend to your orders with the more satisfaction, take these coats, said he, and carry them to the commanders of the guards. Give these habits for horse-men to the commanders of the horse, and these other coats to the commanders of the chariots.' Upon this he took them and carried them off.——When the commanding-officers saw him, they said to him. ' You are a great man, *Pheraulas* ! now that you are to order us what we are to do ! No, not only so, by *Jove* ! said *Pheraulas*, but it seems, I am to be a baggage-bearer too. Therefore I now bring you these two habits ; one of them is for yourself, the other for somebody else ; but do you take which of them you please.' He that received the habit, upon this forgot his envy, and presently advised with him which he should take : then giving his opinion which was the best, he said, ' If ever you charge me with having given you the choice when I officiate, another time you shall have me officiate for you in a different manner.' *Pheraulas* having made this distribution thus as he was ordered, immediately applied himself to the affairs of the procession, that every thing might be settled in the handsomest manner. When the next day came, all things were in order before day.

THERE



THERE were ranks of people standing on each side of the way, as they yet stand at this day, wherever the king is to march ; and within these ranks, none but men of great dignity are allowed to come. There were men posted with scourges in their hands, who scourged any that made disturbance. There stood first before the gates, four thousand of the guards drawn up, four in front : two thousand on each side of the gates. All the horse-men that were there attending, alighted from their horses, and with their hands passed thro' their robes, as they still pass them at this day when the king takes a view of them. The *Persians* stood on the right-hand, and the other allies on the left-hand of the way. The chariots in the same manner, stood half of them on each side. When the gates of the palace were thrown open, first there were led certain bulls, very beautiful beasts, four a-breast, devoted to *Jove* and to such other of the *Gods* as the *Mages* directed. For the *Persians* are of opinion, that artists ought to be made use of in divine affairs, much more than in others. Next to the bulls, there were horses led for a sacrifice to the *sun*. After these proceeded a white chariot, with its perch of gold, adorned with a crown or wreath around it, and sacred to *Jove*. After this, a white chariot sacred to the *Sun*, and adorned with a crown as that before. After this proceeded a third chariot, with its horses adorned with scarlet coverings. And behind it, followed men that bore fire upon a large altar. After these *Cyrus* himself appeared without the gates, with a turban on, that was raised high above his head with a vest of a purple colour, half mixt with white ; (and this mixture of white none else is allowed to wear :) about his legs, he had a sort of stockings of a yellow colour, a robe wholly purple, and about his turban a diadem or wreath. (His relations had likewise this mark of distinction, and they



they have it still to this day.) And his hands he kept out of their coverings. By him rode his driver, a tall man, but less than himself; whether it really was so, or whether by some means or other so it fell out, *Cyrus* appeared much the taller. All the people at the sight of him, paid their adoration; either because some people were before appointed to begin it, or because they were struck with the pomp and solemnity, and thought that *Cyrus* appeared exceedingly tall and beautiful. But no *Persian* ever paid *Cyrus* adoration before. When the chariot of *Cyrus* advanced, four thousand of the guards led the way before, two thousand of them attended on each side of it. And the staff-officers about his person being on horseback, finely cloathed, with javelins in their hands, to the number of about three hundred, followed. Then were led the horses that were maintained for *Cyrus* himself, with their bridles of gold; and thrown over with coverings wrought with a raised work in stripes, and these were about two hundred. After these marched two thousand spear-men. After these, the first-formed body of horse, ten thousand in number, ranged a hundred every way, led by *Chrysantas*. After these another body of ten thousand *Persian* horse ranged in the same manner, led by *Hystaspes*. After these, another body of ten thousand in the same manner led by *Datarnas*. After these, another led by *Gadatas*. After these marched the *Median* horse, after these the *Armenian* horse, then the *Hyrceanian*, then the *Cadusian*, then the *Sacian*. And after the horse, went the chariots ranged four a-breast, and led by the *Persian Artabates*.

As he marched along, abundance of people without the ranks followed by the side, petitioning *Cyrus*, one about one affair, and another about another. Sending therefore to them some of the staff-officers, who attended his chariot three on each side,



for this very purpose of delivering messages ; he bid them tell them, that if any of them wanted him upon any business, they should acquaint some of the chief officers under him, with what they wanted, and they, he said, would tell him. These people going their ways, immediately went to the horse-men, and consulted who they should each of them apply to. But those of his friends, that *Cyrus* had a mind to have the greatest court and application made to, these he sent somebody to, and called them severally to him, and spoke to them in this manner. ‘ If any of these men that follow by  
‘ my side acquaint you with any thing, don’t give  
‘ attention to any one that you think says nothing  
‘ to the purpose. But whoever desires what is just,  
‘ give me an account of it, that we may consult to-  
‘ gether and effect their business for them.’ Others, when they were called upon, riding up with the utmost dispatch obeyed, contributing to the support of *Cyrus*’s empire, and shewing their own readiness to obey. But there was one *Daipharnes*, a man of absurd and uncouth manners, who thought that by not paying obedience with such dispatch, he should appear a man of more dignity and freedom. As soon therefore, as *Cyrus* perceived this, before the man came up so near as that he might speak to him, he sent one of his staff-officers, and bid him tell him, that he had now no longer any need of him, and he never sent for him afterwards. But there was one who was sent to later, who rode up to him sooner than he ; and to this man *Cyrus* gave one of the horses that followed in his train, and ordered one of the staff-officers to conduct the horse for him wherever he should order. This appeared to those that saw it, to be a very great honour ; and after this, many more people made their court to this man.

WHEN



WHEN they came to the sacred enclosures, they sacrificed to Jove, and burnt the bulls entirely. Then they sacrificed to the SUN, and burnt the horses entirely. Then killing certain victims to the EARTH, they did as the *Mages* directed. Then they sacrificed to the HEROES, GUARDIANS OF SYRIA.

AFTER this, the country thereabouts being very fine, he appointed a certain limited piece of ground of about five stades, and bid them, nation by nation, put their horses to their speed. He himself rode the race with the *Persians* and gained the victory, for he was extremely well practiced in horsemanship. Amongst the *Medes*, *Artabates* got the victory, for *Cyrus* had given him a horse. Amongst the *Syrians*, their chief got the victory. Amongst the *Armenians*, *Tigranes*. Amongst the *Hircanians*, the son of the commander of their horse. And amongst the *Sacians*, a private man with his horse left the others behind by almost half the course.

AND upon this occasion, *Cyrus* is said to have asked the young man if he would accept of a kingdom in exchange for his horse? and the young man is said to have replied thus, 'a kingdom I would not accept for him, but I would consent to oblige a worthy man with him.' Then *Cyrus* said, 'Come, I will shew you where you may throw blindfold, and not miss a worthy man.' 'By all means then,' (said the *Sacian*, taking up a clod) 'shew me where I may throw with this clod.' Then *Cyrus* shewed him a place where a great many of his friends were. And the man, shutting his eyes, threw his clod and hit *Pheraulas* as he was riding by; for *Pheraulas* happened to be carrying some orders from *Cyrus*, and when he was struck, he did not turn aside, but went on upon the business



ness that was ordered him. . . . The *Sacian* then looking up, asked 'whom he had hit?' 'None by *Jove!*' said he, 'of those that are present.' 'But sure,' said the young man, 'it was none of those that are absent.' 'Yes, by *Jove!*' said *Cyrus*, 'you hit that man that rides hastily on there by the chariots.' 'And how came he not to turn back?' said he. Then *Cyrus* said, 'why in probability, it is some mad-man.' The young man hearing this, went to see who it was, and found *Pheraulas* with his chin all over dirt and blood, for the blood gushed from his nose upon the stroke that he received. When he came up with him, he asked him, 'whether he had received a blow?' He answered, 'yes, as you see;' 'then,' said he, 'I make you a present of this horse.' He then asked, 'for what?' and upon this, the *Sacian* gave him a relation of the thing; and in conclusion said, 'and I believe I have not missed of a worthy man.' *Pheraulas* then said, 'but if you had been wise, you had given it to a richer man than I; but I now accept it, and beseech the gods! who have made me the receiver of this blow from you, to grant that I may behave so as to make you not repent your present to me. Now,' said he, 'do you mount my horse, and ride off upon him, and I will be with you presently.' Thus they parted.

AMONGST the *Cadusians*, *Rathonices* gained the victory. He likewise put their chariots severally to the trial of their speed; and to the victors he gave oxen, that they might sacrifice and feast, and he gave them cups. He himself took the ox that was his prize; but his share of the cups he gave to *Pheraulas*, because he thought, that he had directed the procession from the palace in a very handsome manner.

THIS



THIS method of procession, then settled by *Cyrus*, continues still in use with the king at this day, excepting only, that the victims make no part of it, when he does not sacrifice. When all was at an end, they returned again to the city, and they that had houses given them, quartered in their houses, and they that had not, in their ranks.

BUT *Pheraulas* inviting the *Sacian* that presented him with the horse, gave him an entertainment; he furnished him with all other things in abundance: and after they had supped, he filled him the cups that he had received from *Cyrus*, drank to him, and made him a present of them. But the *Sacian* observing a great many fine carpets and coverlets, a great deal of fine furniture, and abundance of domestics: ‘tell me, said he, *Pheraulas*! were you  
 ‘one of the rich, when you were at home?’  
 ‘How rich do you mean? (said *Pheraulas*) I was  
 ‘one of those that lived directly by the work of  
 ‘their own hands; for my father maintaining him-  
 ‘self very poorly, by his own labour, bred me up  
 ‘under the discipline of the boys; but when I be-  
 ‘came a youth, not being able to maintain me idle,  
 ‘he took me into the country, and ordered me to  
 ‘work. Here did I maintain him whilst he lived,  
 ‘digging and planting, with my own hands, a little  
 ‘piece of land, that was not an ungrateful one,  
 ‘but the justest in the world. For the seed that it  
 ‘received it returned me justly and handsomely  
 ‘again, with an overplus, that indeed was not very  
 ‘abundant; but sometimes out of its generosity re-  
 ‘turned me double of what it received. Thus then  
 ‘I lived at home. But now, all these things that  
 ‘you see, *Cyrus*, has given me.’ Then the *Sacian*  
 ‘said, O happy are you in other respects, as well  
 ‘as in this; that from being poor before, you are  
 ‘now become rich! For I am of opinion, that you  
 ‘grow rich with the more pleasure, as you come to



‘ be possessed of riches, after having thirsted for  
 ‘ them before.’ *Pheraulas* then said, ‘ And do you  
 ‘ think, *Sacian*, that I live with the more pleasure,  
 ‘ the more I possess? Do not you know, said he,  
 ‘ that I neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep with one  
 ‘ jot more pleasure now, than when I was poor?  
 ‘ But by all this abundance, thus much I gain;  
 ‘ that I am to guard more, to distribute more to  
 ‘ others, and to have the trouble of taking care of  
 ‘ more. For a great many domestics now de-  
 ‘ mand their food of me; their drink and their  
 ‘ cloaths, some are in want of physicians; one  
 ‘ comes and brings me sheep that have been torn  
 ‘ to pieces by wolves, or oxen killed by falling from  
 ‘ a precipice, or tells me of a distemper got amongst  
 ‘ the cattle: so that I think, said *Pheraulas*, by pos-  
 ‘ sessing abundance, I have more afflictions than I  
 ‘ had before, by having but little.’ ‘ But by *Jove*!  
 ‘ said the *Sacian*, ‘ when all is well, and you are able  
 ‘ to cast your eyes around upon numerous posses-  
 ‘ sions, you are certainly much better pleased  
 ‘ than I am.’ *Pheraulas* then said, ‘ *Sacian*, it is not  
 ‘ so pleasant to possess riches, as it is afflicting to  
 ‘ lose them; and you will find that what I say is  
 ‘ true. For there are none of those that possess  
 ‘ riches that are forced from the enjoyment of rest,  
 ‘ by the pleasure which they afford; but of those  
 ‘ that lose them, you will see none that are able to  
 ‘ sleep, because of the concern it gives them.’  
 ‘ By *Jove*!’ said the *Sacian*, ‘ nor will you see any of  
 ‘ those fall asleep that at first obtain them, because  
 ‘ of the pleasure it gives them.’ ‘ You say true,  
 ‘ said he, for if the possessing them was as pleasant  
 ‘ as the obtaining them, the rich would very much  
 ‘ exceed the poor in happiness. But then, *Sacian*!  
 ‘ said he, he that possesses abundance, must of neces-  
 ‘ sity expend abundance, both upon the gods, upon  
 ‘ his



‘ his friends, and upon strangers. Whoever there-  
‘ fore is greatly pleased with the possession of rich-  
‘ es, be assured will be greatly afflicted at the ex-  
‘ pence of them.’ ‘ By *Jove* !’ said the *Sacian*, ‘ I  
‘ am not one of those, but I take it to be a happi-  
‘ ness for a man to have abundance, and to expend  
‘ abundance.’ ‘ Why then,’ said *Pheraulas*, ‘ in the  
‘ name of all the gods ! are not you this instant  
‘ that happy man, to make me so at the same  
‘ time ? For do you take possession of all these  
‘ things, and use them as you please ; maintain me  
‘ only as a stranger, or yet more sparingly than a  
‘ stranger ; for it shall be enough for me to share  
‘ with you in what you have.’ ‘ You jest,’ said  
the *Sacian*. *Pheraulas* then asserted, with an oath,  
that he spoke in earnest. ‘ And I’ll gain you, *Sa-*  
‘ *cian* ! something farther from *Cyrus* ; and that is,  
‘ that you shall not be obliged to attend at his  
‘ doors, nor to engage in military service, but you  
‘ shall stay at home, abounding in riches. And  
‘ those other affairs I will perform for you and for  
‘ myself ; and if I get any thing valuable by my  
‘ attendance upon *Cyrus*, or by any military expe-  
‘ dition, I will bring it to you, that you may still  
‘ have the command of more : do you, said he,  
‘ but free me from this care. For if I can be at  
‘ leisure from these affairs, I think that you will be  
‘ of very great use, both to me and to *Cyrus*.’

HAVING thus discoursed, they settled these af-  
fairs, and put them in practice. The one thought  
himself made a happy man, by having the com-  
mand of great riches, and the other reckoned him-  
self the most fortunate man in the world, in having a  
steward who afforded him leisure to do what was  
agreeable to him. *Pheraulas* was in his temper, ex-  
tremely kind and friendly to his acquaintance ; and  
no cure or culture bestowed upon any thing, appeared



so pleasing to him, or so profitable, as that bestowed upon men. For man, he thought, was of all other creatures the best and the most grateful; because he observed of men, that when they were commended by any one, they were zealous in their returns of praise; that they used their endeavours to do kindnesses to those that had done kindnesses to them; that they were kindly affected to those whom they knew to be kindly affected to them; and those who they knew had a love for them, they could not possibly hate; and that of all other creatures, they were the most inclined to make their parents all returns of respect and service, both while living and when dead. And all other animals he reckoned more ungrateful and more ill-natured than man. Thus *Pheraulas* was much delighted, that by being freed from the care of other possessions, he should be at leisure to mind his friends. And the *Sacian* was delighted, because he was to have the possession of abundance, and was to spend abundance. The *Sacian* loved *Pheraulas*, because he was always bringing him something: and *Pheraulas* loved the *Sacian*, because he was willing to take all; and though he charged himself with the care of still more and more, yet he gave him never more trouble. Thus did these men live.

*CYRUS* having sacrificed, and making an entertainment with the prize of his victory, invited those of his friends that appeared the most desirous to increase his power, and that paid him honour in the most affectionate manner. And with them, he invited *Artabazus* the *Mede*, *Tygranes* the *Armenian*, the *Hyrceanian* commander of horse, and *Gobrias*. *Gadatas* was the commander of his eunuchs: and all the management within doors was settled as he thought fit to regulate it. When there were any that supped with him, *Gadatas* did not sit down, but minded



mind the business ; but when there was no company, he then supped with him. For he was pleased with his conversation ; and in return he was presented with many great and noble things, both by *Cyrus* himself, and by many others upon *Cyrus's* account.

As the persons that were invited to supper came, he did not place every one as it happened by chance to fall out ; but the man, that he most esteemed, he placed upon his left hand, as if this side were more exposed to dangerous designs than the right. The next in his esteem he placed upon his right-hand ; the third again upon his left ; and the fourth upon his right ; and if there were more, he went on with them in the same manner. He thought it of service, to make it evident how far he esteemed every one ; because where men think, that he, who excels others, is not to have his praises published, nor to receive his rewards ; there, it is plain, they have no emulation to each other. But where he that excels has the advantage, there they appear to struggle with the utmost zeal. Thus *Cyrus* made those known that were chief in his esteem ; beginning first with their place, as they sat and as they stood by him. Yet, this privilege of place in sitting, he did not make perpetual ; but made it a rule, that a man might advance, by noble actions, to the most honourable seat ; and, if he grew negligent and remiss, might sink down to the less honourable. And if he, that was possessed of the principal seat, did not appear to have received the greatest number of valuable things at his hands, he was ashamed. And these things that were practised, in the time of *Cyrus*, I perceive continue still thus, to this day.

WHEN they had supped, it did not appear at all wonderful to *Gobrias*, that a man, who had the command of many, should have every thing in great



great abundance. But that *Cyrus*, who had performed such great things, if he thought that he had got any thing that was delicate, should never spend it himself alone, but give himself trouble in desiring his friends that were present to share it; this he thought wonderful! and frequently he saw him send to some of his absent friends, things that he happened to be pleased with himself. So that when they had supped, and *Cyrus*, by presents to several, had cleared his table of all that plenty that was upon it: then *Gobrias* said, ‘ Before, *Cyrus*! I thought  
 ‘ that you most excelled the rest of men, in being  
 ‘ the most able in the command of an army:  
 ‘ but now, I swear by the gods! that you excel  
 ‘ more in benignity and love to mankind, than in  
 ‘ military conduct.’ ‘ And, by *Jove*,’ said *Cyrus*,  
 ‘ it is much more agreeable to shew acts of love to  
 ‘ men, than acts of skill in the conduct of an ar-  
 ‘ my.’ ‘ How so?’ said *Gobrias*. ‘ Because these,’  
 said he, ‘ must be shewn by doing mischief to men,  
 ‘ and those by doing them good.’

AFTER this, when they had drank a little, *Hystaspes* put this question to *Cyrus*. ‘ Would you be  
 ‘ offended, *Cyrus*! said he, if I should ask you  
 ‘ something that I am desirous to know from you?’  
 ‘ By the gods! said he, quite the contrary. I  
 ‘ should be offended, if I perceived that you retain-  
 ‘ ed what you had a mind to ask me.’ ‘ Tell me  
 ‘ then, said he, when you have called me, did I  
 ‘ ever refuse to come?’ ‘ Pray be quiet,’ said  
*Cyrus*. ‘ Or did I ever obey your summons slowly?’  
 ‘ No, nor this neither.’ ‘ Have I ever neglected to  
 ‘ do what you have ordered me?’ ‘ I don’t lay it to  
 ‘ your charge,’ said he. ‘ And in what I have  
 ‘ done, can you accuse me of not having done it  
 ‘ with alacrity and pleasure?’ ‘ This, said *Cyrus*,  
 ‘ the least of all.’ ‘ In the name of all the gods!  
 ‘ then, *Cyrus*! said he, by what means is it, that  
 ‘ *Chrysfantas*



‘ *Chryfantas* has prevailed upon you, so as to be  
‘ placed before me in the honourable seat ? Shall I  
‘ I tell you, said *Cyrus* ? ‘ By all means, said he.  
‘ And will not you be offended with me when you  
‘ hear the truth ?’ ‘ No, I shall be pleased, said he,  
‘ if I find that I am not wronged.’— ‘ Then, said  
‘ he, *Chryfantas* here in the first place, never wait-  
‘ ed my call, but before he was called, was ready  
‘ at hand for our service. And then, not only what  
‘ he was ordered, but what ever he himself thought  
‘ best for us to be done, that he did. When it was  
‘ necessary to say any thing to our allies, he advi-  
‘ sed me what he thought was becoming and proper  
‘ for me to say. And what he perceived I was desi-  
‘ rous that our allies should know, but was ashamed  
‘ to say of myself, this he spoke, as if he were de-  
‘ claring his own opinion. So that in these matters,  
‘ what hinders him from being reckoned of more  
‘ use to me, even than myself ? As to himself, he  
‘ always says, that the things he has are sufficient  
‘ for him. But it appears evidently that he is al-  
‘ ways looking out, for what it may be of service  
‘ for me to have. And with the advantages that  
‘ befall me, he is more delighted and pleased than  
‘ myself.’——To this *Hystaspes* said, ‘ by *Hercules* !  
‘ *Cyrus* ! I am pleased, that I have asked you these  
‘ things.’ ‘ And why ?’ said he. ‘ Because I will  
‘ endeavour too to practise them. One thing  
‘ only there is, said he, that I do not know ; and  
‘ that is, how to make it evident, that I rejoice at  
‘ your advantages, whether I must clap my hands,  
‘ or laugh, or what I must do ?’ *Artabazus* to this  
said, ‘ you must dance the *Persian* dance.’ And at  
this they laughed.

As the entertainment went on, *Cyrus* put this  
question to *Gobrias*. ‘ Tell me, said he, *Gobrias* !  
‘ Do you think that you should give your daughter



‘ to one of these that are here, with more satisfac-  
 ‘ tion now, than when at first you became acquaint-  
 ‘ ed with us.’ ‘ And must I tell the truth then ?’  
 said *Gobrias*. ‘ Yes by *Jove* !’ said *Cyrus*, since no  
 ‘ question requires falshood in answer to it.’ ‘ Be  
 ‘ assured then, said he, that I should do it with  
 ‘ much more satisfaction now.’ ‘ And can you  
 ‘ give, said *Cyrus*, a reason why ?’ ‘ I can.’ ‘ Give  
 ‘ it me then.’ ‘ Because at that time, I saw these  
 ‘ men bear toils and dangers with alacrity ; but  
 ‘ now I see them bear prosperity with discretion  
 ‘ and good temper. And to me, *Cyrus* ! it appears  
 ‘ more difficult, to find a man that bears prosperity  
 ‘ well, than one that bears adversity well. For  
 ‘ prosperity inspires most men with pride and info-  
 ‘ lence ; but adversity gives discretion and modesty  
 ‘ of temper to all.’ Then *Cyrus* said, ‘ do you hear,  
 ‘ *Hystaspes* ! this saying of *Gobrias* ?’ ‘ Yes, by  
 ‘ *Jove* !’ said he, I do ; and if he pronounce many  
 ‘ such, he shall much sooner have me for a suitor  
 ‘ to his daughter, than if he shewed me abundance  
 ‘ of cups of great value.’ ‘ Truly, said *Gobrias*, I  
 ‘ have a great many such written down ; and I will  
 ‘ not grudge them to you if you have my daughter  
 ‘ for a wife. But my cups, said he, since you seem  
 ‘ to dislike them, I don’t know but I will give to  
 ‘ *Chrysfantas* here, especially since he has run away  
 ‘ with your seat.’

‘ Well !’ said *Cyrus*, if you *Hystaspes* and the rest  
 ‘ that are here present, will acquaint me when any  
 ‘ of you are endeavouring after a wife, you will  
 ‘ then know how good an assistant I shall be to you.’  
*Gobrias* then said, ‘ but if one has a mind to dispose  
 ‘ of a daughter who must one tell it to.’ ‘ This,  
 ‘ said *Cyrus*, must be told me too ; for I am a no-  
 ‘ table man in this art.’ ‘ What art ?’ said *Chry-*  
 ‘ *santas*. ‘ Why in knowing what match will best  
 ‘ suit each particular man,’ Then *Chrysfantas* said,  
 ‘ in the name of all the gods ! then, tell me  
 ‘ what



‘ what wife you think will bestsuit me.’ ‘ First,  
‘ said he, she must be little, for you are little your-  
‘ self ; and if you marry a tall wife, and would  
‘ kiss her as she stands, you must leap up like a lit-  
‘ tle dog.’ ‘ You are much in the right, said he,  
‘ to provide against this, for I am by no means a  
‘ good caperer.’ ‘ And then, said he, she must  
‘ have a good nose that sinks in the middle.’ ‘ And  
‘ what is that for ?’ ‘ Because, said he, you have  
‘ a crooked nose, and a risen hook would best suit a  
‘ sinking in.’ Do you say then, that a fasting wife  
‘ would best suit one that had feasted plentifully as  
‘ I have done now ?’ ‘ Yes, by *Jove* ! said *Cyrus*,  
‘ for the bellies of those that are full, rise ; and the  
‘ bellies of those that are fasting, sink in.’ ‘ But  
‘ in the name of all the gods ! said *Chryfantas*, can  
‘ you tell, what wife will be best for a cold king ?’  
‘ ———Here *Cyrus* fell a laughing, and so did the  
others And as they were laughing, *Hystaspes* said,  
‘ in the whole compass of your royal dignity, *Cy-*  
‘ *rus* ! I envy you the most for this.’ For what ?  
said *Cyrus*. ‘ Why that as cold as you are, you  
‘ can make people laugh.’ ‘ And would not you  
‘ give a great deal, said *Cyrus* then, that these  
‘ things had been said by you, and that she that  
‘ you desire should think well of you, and should  
‘ be informed that you are a polite agreeable man ?’  
———Thus they jested one with another.

AFTER this, he produced a woman’s attire for  
*Tygranes*, and bid him give it his wife ; because she  
bravely attended her husband in the service. To  
*Artabazus*, he gave a golden cup : to the *Hyrceanian*,  
a horse. And many other noble presents he made.  
‘ But *Gobrias* !’ said he, ‘ I will give you a husband  
‘ for your daughter.’ ‘ And shall not I,’ said *Hys-*  
*taspes*, be the man that you will give, that I may  
‘ get those writings ?’ ‘ Have you substance  
‘ enough, said *Cyrus*, to deserve the girl ?’ ‘ Yes,  
‘ by



‘ by *Jove* ! I have much more than enough.’ ‘ And where,’ said he, ‘ is this substance of yours ?’ ‘ Here,’ said he, ‘ where you, my friend, sit.’ ‘ That is enough for me,’ said *Gobrias*. ‘ And holding out his right-hand, ‘ Give him to me, *Cyrus* !’ said he, ‘ for I accept him.’ Then *Cyrus* taking *Hystaspes*’s right hand, presented it to *Gobrias*, and he received it. After this, he made a great many noble presents to *Hystaspes*, that he might send them to the maid. And pulling *Chrysfantas* to him, he kissed him. Upon this, *Artabazus* said ‘ By *Jove* ! *Cyrus* ! you have not given me my cup of the same gold with this present that you have made *Chrysfantas*.’ ‘ But I will give you the same.’ said he. ‘ He asked him, when ?’ ‘ Thirty years hence,’ said he. ‘ Well, prepare yourself for me,’ said he, ‘ as one that intends to wait and not to die before the time.’ Thus then ended this conversation. And when they rose, *Cyrus* rose with them, and conducted them to his doors.

THE next day, all those of his allies that had voluntarily attended him, he dismissed to their homes ; excepting such as chose to live near him. To these, he gave lands and houses, which the descendant of those who then staid, possess still to this day. And they were for the most part *Medes* and *Hyrceanians*. To those that went off he gave many presents, and dismissed them, both commanders and soldiers, without leaving them the least cause to complain. After this, he divided the treasure that he gained at *Sardes*, among the soldiers that were about him. And to the commanders of ten thousand, and to the officers that were about him, he gave the choice things, according to the merit of every one. The rest he parcelled out, and giving a share to each of the commanders of ten thousand, he left it to them to distribute it in the same manner



ner as he had distributed to them. And these other treasures, each commander distributed to the commanders under him, giving judgment upon the merit of every one. And the commanders of six giving judgment upon the private men that were under them, distributed the last remaining treasures severally to them, according to their desert. So they all received their just share.

WHEN they had received what was then given them, some of them spoke of *Cyrus* in this manner. ‘ Surely he must have abundance, when he gives  
‘ so much to every one of us !’ But others of them said, ‘ What is the abundance that he has ? *Cyrus*  
‘ is not of a temper, to mind wholly the heaping  
‘ up of treasure ; but he is more pleased with bestow-  
‘ ing than with having it.’ *Cyrus* perceiving these discourses, and the opinions that men had of him, assembled his friends and all the other proper persons together, and spoke to this effect.——‘ My  
‘ friends ! I have seen men that were willing to be  
‘ thought possessed of more than they really had,  
‘ and who thought by that means to appear the  
‘ more generous and noble. But these men, in  
‘ my opinion, are drawn into the very reverse of  
‘ what they intend. For he that seems to have  
‘ abundance, and does not appear to do that service  
‘ to his friends that is suitable to his substance,  
‘ gains in my opinion the character of being mean  
‘ and sordid. There are those,’ said he, ‘ on the  
‘ other side, who desire that what they have may  
‘ be concealed. And these too in my opinion are  
‘ faulty to their friends. For frequently friends  
‘ that are in want, avoid telling it to their compa-  
‘ nions, because they are ignorant of what they  
‘ have, and so are deceived. But the plainest, sim-  
‘ plest part, in my opinion, is to make the whole  
‘ strength of one’s fortune appear, and with it to  
‘ try



‘ try to get the better of others in generosity. I  
 ‘ intend therefore,’ said he, ‘ to shew you every  
 ‘ thing that it is possible for you to see, of what I  
 ‘ have ; and of what you cannot see, to give you an  
 account.’ — Having said this, he shew’d them  
 abundance of rich and valuable things ; and those  
 that lay so as not easily to be seen, he gave them  
 an account of ; and in conclusion said thus.——  
 ‘ All these things, my friends ! said he, ‘ you ought  
 ‘ to reckon not more mine, than yours : For I  
 ‘ have collected them together, not that I may  
 ‘ spend them myself, nor that I may myself wear  
 ‘ them out, for I should not be able to do it : But  
 ‘ that I may always have wherewithal to present  
 ‘ any of you, upon your performance of any thing  
 ‘ great and noble ; and that in case any of you  
 ‘ think you are in want of any thing, you may  
 ‘ come to me and take what you happen to be in  
 ‘ want of.’ Thus were these things said.

BUT when he thought that affairs were now so  
 well settled in *Babylon* that he might venture to tra-  
 vel abroad ; he himself prepared for a journey into  
*Persia*, and gave out orders upon it to others. And  
 when he judged that he was sufficiently provided  
 with the things he thought he should want, he de-  
 parted. Now we will give an account how so great  
 an equipage was in the most orderly manner set out,  
 and then again put up together in the same manner  
 and disposed into the place where it ought to be.  
 For wherever the king encamps, they that are about  
 his person attend the service with tents both winter  
 and summer.

*CYRUS* then immediately thought fit to place  
 his own tent fronting to the east. Then he first di-  
 rected at what distance from the royal tent, the  
 guards should pitch theirs ; he then appointed the  
 bakers, and those that were concerned in making  
 the



the bread, their station upon the right; the cooks theirs upon the left. To the horses he appointed their station upon the right, and to the other beasts of burthen, theirs upon the left. And all the rest was so disposed, that every one knew his own station, both as to measure and place. When they are to put all up, every one packs up such baggage as it was appointed him to use; and there are others that place it upon the beasts of burthen; so that all the baggage-carriers come up at the same time, to the things that are severally appointed them to carry; and they all, at the same time place them upon the beasts that severally belong to them. So that the same time that suffices for the striking of one tent, suffices for all. The case is the same in the displaying and setting out of all. And with respect to the doing all things that are necessary, in proper time, every one is, in the same manner, appointed what he is to do; and by this means, the same time suffices for the doing things in one part and in all. And as the servants that dispatched all the necessary business, had all, severally, their proper stations, so they that bore arms had their stations in this encampment suitable to the sort of arms they severally had; they knew what their station was, and all disposed themselves into it without any hesitation. For *Cyrus* thought the proper placing of things, a noble rule in a house; because if one happens to want any thing, it is known whither one must go to take it. But the proper placing of the several different sorts of military men, he reckoned a much nobler thing, as the occasions of putting all to their use, in the affairs of war, are more sudden, and the faults arising from those that are dilatory in them, are of worse consequence; and the most valuable advantages in war, he observed, arose from having all



things ready for the occasion. Upon these accounts therefore, he took the greatest care of this propriety of place.

FIRST then, he placed himself in the midst of the camp, as being the strongest and securest station. Then those whom he chiefly confided in, he had, according to custom, about himself. Next to these, in a circle round, he had the horse-men and charioteers. For he was of opinion, that a secure station was necessary for these people because they encamp without having at hand any of those arms that they engage with, and require a considerable time to arm themselves, if they are to advance so as to do any service. To the right and left of himself, and of the horse-men, was the station of the shield-men. The station of the archers was before and behind himself and the horse-men. The heavy-armed men, and such as had large shields, he had in a circle round all, as a rampart; that in case there were any occasion for the horse-men to make ready, they that were the fittest to make a stand, being placed before them, might give them time to arm securely. And as the heavy-armed men slept there in order round him, so did the shield-men and archers. So that even in the night-time, if the occasion required, as the heavy-armed men were ready prepared to come to blows with such as came up close with them, so the archers and javelin men, if any people approached them, were ready to discharge their javelins and arrows over the heads of the heavy-armed. And all the commanders had ensigns on their tents. And as in cities, discreet and good servants know the habitations of most people, but chiefly of those that it is proper for them to know; so did the servants of *Cyrus* know  
the



the stations that the chief leaders had in the encampments, and knew the ensigns that belonged to each of them ; so that whatever *Cyrus* might want, they were not to seek for them, but ran the shortest way directly to each of them. And by means of the several sets of people being distinct it was much the more readily observed, when any one was disorderly, and when any one did not perform what he was commanded. And things standing thus, he was of opinion, that if any body attacked him, either by night or day, such aggressor would fall into his camp, as into an ambuscade.

AND he did not only think it a part of the tactic-art, for a man to be able to draw up a phalanx easily and cleverly, or to increase it in depth, or to form a phalanx upon the wing, or upon the enemy's appearing to the right, the left, or the rear, to wheel properly. But to separate men, when it was proper, he took to be a part of this art ; to post each part where they might be most serviceable, and to make dispatch where it might be fit to prevent the enemy. All these things, and such like, he took to be the business of a man skilled in tactics. He took care of all these things alike ; and in his marches, he moved always in a disposition suitable to what occurred. But in his encampments he placed his people for the most part as has been said.

WHEN in the course of their march, they arrived in the *Median* territory, *Cyrus* turned off to visit *Cyaxares*. And after they had embraced each other, *Cyrus* first told *Cyaxares*, that there were domesticks and palaces set apart for him in *Babylon* ; that when he came thither, he might have what was his own to come to. And he then made him a great many other noble presents. *Cyaxares* received them, and sent his daughter to him, with a crown of gold and with bracelets, with a collar, and a *Median* robe



that was as fine as was possible. And the maid put the crown upon *Cyrus's* head. *Cyaxares* then said, ' I give you the maid too, *Cyrus!* for your wife. ' She is my own daughter. Your father married ' my father's daughter, and from her you are descended. This is she, that when you were a boy, ' and amongst us, you used to fondle ; and when ' any one asked her, who she would marry, she ' said *Cyrus*. And with her I give all *Media* as her ' dowry, for I have no legitimate male issue.' Thus he spoke, and *Cyrus* replied, ' O *Cyaxares!* I applaud the race, the maid, and the presents that ' attend her ! And with the consent,' said he, ' of ' my father and mother, I am ready to agree with ' you.' Thus *Cyrus* spoke, but yet he presented the maid with all that he thought would be pleasing to *Cyaxares*. And having done this, he continued his march to *Persia*.

AND when in the course of his march he arrived at the borders of *Persia*, there he left the rest of the army. But he himself, together with his friends, proceeded on to the city ; carrying with him such numbers of victims, as were sufficient for all the *Persians* to sacrifice and feast upon. He brought with him such presents as were proper for his father and mother, and his other friends ; and such as were proper for the elders and magistrates, and for all the alike-honoured. He gave likewise to all the *Persians*, both men and women, such presents as the king still makes at this day, when he comes into *Persia*. After this, *Cambyfes* assembled the *Persian* elders and magistrates, who had the direction of the greatest affairs ; he summoned likewise *Cyrus* ; and spoke to this effect.

' Men of *Persia*, and you, O *Cyrus*, I have just-  
' ly an affection for you both both ; for over you I  
' am king, and you, *Cyrus*, are my son. It is just  
' therefore that I should lay before you, whatever I  
' judge



‘ judge to be of advantage to you both. With re-  
‘ spect to the time past, you have advanced *Cyrus* in  
‘ his fortune ; by granting an army, and by consti-  
‘ tuting him the commander of it. *Cyrus* in the  
‘ conduct of this army, has, with the help of the  
‘ gods, gained you, O *Persians*, glory amongst all  
‘ men, and honour throughout all *Asia*. Of those  
‘ that served with him, the better sort he has enriched,  
‘ and the multitude he has provided with their pay  
‘ and with their maintenance. And by constituting  
‘ a *Persian*-cavalry, he has given the *Persians* a share  
‘ in the command of the plains. If you continue  
‘ therefore, for the future in the same sentiments,  
‘ you will be the authors of many advantages to  
‘ each other. But if either you, *Cyrus*, elevated  
‘ with your present happy circumstances, attempt to  
‘ rule the *Persians* as you do the others, with regard  
‘ only to your own interest ; or if you, citizens, en-  
‘ vying him his power, endeavour to wrest the em-  
‘ pire from him ; be assured, that you will hinder  
‘ each other from obtaining many advantages.  
‘ Therefore, that things may not fall out thus, but  
‘ rather happily for you ; my opinion is,’ said he,  
‘ that we make a sacrifice in common ; and, calling  
‘ the gods to witness, stipulate—that you, *Cyrus* in  
‘ case any one make war upon the *Persian* territory  
‘ or attempt to destroy the *Persian* laws, shall  
‘ assist in their defence with your whole force ; and  
‘ that you—*Persians*, in case any one attempt to put  
‘ an end to *Cyrus*’s empire, or to excite any of his sub-  
‘ jects to revolt, shall yield such assistance in defence  
‘ of yourselves, and of *Cyrus*, as he shall order.—  
‘ Whilst I live, the royal dignity amongst the *Per-*  
‘ *sians*, is mine. When I am dead, it then plainly  
‘ belongs to *Cyrus*, if he lives. And when he comes  
‘ into *Persia*, it may be, perhaps, of religious con-  
‘ cern to you, that he should make these sacrifices  
‘ for you that I now make. But when he is abroad,



‘ I think it will be proper, that that person of our  
 ‘ race, that appears to you to be the most worthy,  
 ‘ should perform the sacred rites.’

UPON *Cambyfes*’s saying this, *Cyrus* and the *Perfi-*  
*an* magistrates joined in opinion with him. And  
 having at that time agreed upon these things, (call-  
 ing upon the gods as witnesses) the *Persians* and the  
 king continue still to this day to put them in prac-  
 tice, one towards another.

WHEN these things were performed, *Cyrus* went  
 away : And when he came into *Media*, in his jour-  
 ney back, upon its being agreed to by his father  
 and mother, he married the daughter of *Cyaxares*,  
 who at this day has still the fame of having been  
 extremely beautiful. There are some authors who  
 say, that he married his mother’s sister : but she  
 must have been a woman in years, much more pro-  
 bably than one so young. When he had married  
 her, he presently departed and took her with him.

WHEN he was at *Babylon*, he thought it now pro-  
 per for him to constitute governors or satraps over  
 the conquered nations. But the commanders of the  
 garrisons in castles, and the commanders of thou-  
 sands, that were appointed for the guard of the  
 country, he would not allow to obey the orders of  
 any but himself. He used this foresight, upon con-  
 sideration, that if any of the satraps, by means of  
 their riches, and the numbers of their people, should  
 grow insolent, and attempt to withdraw their obedi-  
 ence from him, they might immediately meet with  
 opposers upon the place. Desiring therefore to  
 bring this about ; he determined first to call toge-  
 ther all the proper persons, and to declare it to  
 them, that they who went upon these employments,  
 might know upon what foot they went ; for by this  
 means he thought they would the more easily bear  
 it. But if any one were first constituted a com-  
 mander,



mander, and then made the discovery ; he was of opinion, that men would bear this with difficulty, imagining that it was done out of distrust of them.

So, assembling them together, he spoke to this effect.——‘ My friends, in the cities that have  
‘ been conquered, there are garrisons and com-  
‘ manders over them, that I left there at the time.  
‘ And when I went away, I gave them orders not to  
‘ take upon themselves any other business than to  
‘ preserve the fortresses. Therefore I will not de-  
‘ prive these men of their power, since they have  
‘ discharged themselves handsomely in the guard-  
‘ ing of what they had in charge. But I think it  
‘ proper for me to send other governors, who shall  
‘ take upon them the rule of the inhabitants ; and  
‘ who, receiving the revenues, shall give the garri-  
‘ sons their pay, and discharge whatever else is ne-  
‘ cessary. And to those of you here, that I shall  
‘ give employment, and send to perform any busi-  
‘ ness in the several nations, I think it proper to dis-  
‘ tribute lands and houses there ; that the tribute  
‘ may be there paid them, and that they may bring  
‘ it to this place, and when they go thither, that  
‘ they may have what is their own to go to.’——

Thus he said. And to many of his friends he gave houses and dependents throughout all the conquered cities. And these precincts remain still at this day in the possession of the descendants of those who then received them ; some in one country, and some in another ; and they themselves reside with the king.——‘ And we ought,’ said he, ‘ to look  
‘ out for such satraps to go into these precincts, as  
‘ will remember to send hither whatever there is  
‘ that is excellent and valuable in every country ;  
‘ that we, who are here, may share of all that is ex-  
‘ cellent and valuable in every part : For if any  
‘ misfortune befall them, it will lie upon us to de-  
‘ fend them from it.”



HAVING said thus, he ended his discourse. And then from amongst his friends, that he knew were desirous to go upon the terms expressed, choosing out such as he thought the most proper, he sent them as satraps. To *Arabia*, he sent *Magabyzus*; to *Capadocia*, *Artabatas*; to the greater *Phrygia*, *Artacamas*; to *Lydia* and *Ionia*, *Chrysfantas*; to *Caria*, *Cadusius*; as that people themselves had desired: to *Phrygia* on the *Hellespont*, and *Æolia*, *Pharnuchus*. To *Cilicia*, to *Cyprus*, and to the *Paphlagonians*, he sent no *Persian* satraps; because they seemed to have joined of their own accord with him in his expedition against *Babylon*. But he appointed these likewise a tribute that they were to pay. According to *Cyrus's* establishment at that time, so that they are still at this day, garrisons belonging to the king in the fortresses; and commanders of thousands appointed by the king to command those forces, and set down in a list belonging to the king.

THE satraps that were thus sent out, he beforehand directed, to imitate as near as was possible, whatever they saw him practise. And in the first place, that each satrap, out of such of the *Persians*, and of the confederates, as attended him, should establish a number of horse-men and charioteers; and then should oblige such as had lands and palaces, to pay their attendance at his doors; and practising discreet and modest manners, to yield themselves to the service of the satrap, if any occasion should so require. And that he should discipline at his doors, the boys that these men had, as was practised by himself. And that the satrap should take those that attended at his doors out with him to hunt; and exercise himself and those about him in military affairs. ‘And the man,’ said he, ‘that in proportion to his ability, produces me the most chariots, and the most and the best horse-men: Him will I reward,



‘ reward, as an excellent fellow-soldier, and as an  
‘ excellent fellow-guardian and preserver of the em-  
‘ pire to the *Persians* and myself. Let the best men  
‘ with you be honoured with the principal seats, as  
‘ they are with me. And let your table, as mine  
‘ does, maintain in the first place your domestics ;  
‘ and then let it be sufficiently furnished to afford  
‘ your friends to partake of it ; and allow you eve-  
‘ ry day to reward any one that may have done a  
‘ handsome action. Get yourselves parks, and  
‘ maintain wild beasts. And neither set meat at any  
‘ time before yourselves without having taken  
‘ pains, nor throw food to your horses unexercised.  
‘ For it is impossible for me, who am but one, with  
‘ all the virtue that belongs to human nature, to  
‘ preserve all you in safety and prosperity. But it  
‘ is my part, making myself a worthy man, toge-  
‘ ther with other worthy men about me, to be an  
‘ assistant to you. And it is, in like manner your  
‘ part, making yourselves worthy men, together  
‘ with other men of worth about you, to be friends  
‘ and supports to me. And I desire likewise, that  
‘ you would observe, that of all these orders that I  
‘ now give you, I give none to those that are of  
‘ servile condition. And that the things which I  
‘ say you ought to do, these I endeavour myself to  
‘ practise. And as I exhort you to imitate me, so  
‘ do you instruct those that are in command under  
‘ you, to imitate you.’

*CYRUS* having thus regulated these affairs at that time, all the garrisons under the king, are still at this day, kept likewise in the same method. The doors of all the commanders are frequented in the like manner. All families both great and little, are in the like manner regulated. The most deserving men in all companies are honoured with the principal seats. All marches are ordered in the  
same



same method. And the great multitude of affairs is parcelled out into distinct heads, under a few principal directors.

HAVING told them in what manner they were each of them to manage in these affairs ; and having given to each of them a force, he sent them away ; and told them all before-hand, that in the following year, an expedition would be undertaken, and a review taken both of men and arms, horses and chariots.

THERE is another thing that we have observed, which they say was begun by *Cyrus*, and continues to this day. That there is a certain person, who at the head of an army, takes a progress every year ; and who, in case any of the satraps want assistance, affords it them ; and if any of them grow insolent, reduces them to temper. And if any neglect the payment of his tribute, or the protection of the inhabitants, or the care of having the land cultivated, or leaves any other of his orders unexecuted, he puts all these things to rights : Or if he is not able to do it himself, he makes a report to the king ; and when the king has had an account of it, he takes advice how to deal with the transgressing person. And commonly they who take this progress, are the king's son, or the king's brother, or one of those they call the king's eye. And sometimes they do not appear ; for they each of them return upon the first orders from the king.

WE have likewise been informed of another contrivance of his, with regard to the extent of his empire, by means of which he had immediate intelligence of what passed in the most remote parts of his government. For observing how far a horse was able to travel in a day ; he built stables at that distance, and supplied them with horses, and persons to have the care of them. And he appointed a  
certain



certain person at each of these stages, to receive the letters, and to deliver them out, and to receive those horses that had compleated their stage, and to furnish fresh ones. And it is said, that the night did not give any interruption to these stages : For as soon as he arrived, who had been his progress all day, another continued it during the night. and in this manner they are said to fly swifter than cranes ; but though that be false, yet it is manifest, that this is the quickest way of travelling for men. Besides, it is of use to have early intelligence of every thing, that immediate provision may be made.

AT the conclusion of the year, *Cyrus* assembled his army together at *Babylon*, which is said to have consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand horse ; two thousand chariots armed with scythes ; and sixty thousand foot. And having prepared them for it, he undertook that expedition in which he is reported to have subdued all those nations which lie from the entrance into *Syria* as far as the *Red-Sea*. His next expedition is said to have been against *Ægypt*, which he also subdued. Then *Cyrus's* empire was bounded to the east by the *Red-Sea*, to the north by the *Euxine-Sea*, to the west by *Cyprus* and *Ægypt*, to the south by *Æthiopia*. The extremities of which countries are difficult to inhabit ; some of them from excess of heat, some of them from excess of cold, some from too great abundance of water, others from a scarcity of water.

*CYRUS* residing in the centre of these countries, spent the seven winter months at *Babylon*, because that climate is warm ; the three spring months at *Susa*, and the two summer months at *Ecbatan*. By which means he is said to have enjoyed a perpetual spring with respect to heat and cold. And men stood so affected towards him, that every nation thought



thought they did themselves an injury if they did not send *Cyrus* the most valuable productions of their country, whether they were the fruits of the earth, or creatures bred there, or manufactures of their own. And every city did the same. And every private man thought himself rich, if he could oblige *Cyrus*; for as *Cyrus* accepted from each of what they possessed in abundance, so in return he distributed to them what he observed they were in want of.

AFTER he had thus spent some considerable time, *Cyrus* now in a very advanced age, takes a journey into *Persia*, which was his seventh from the acquisition of his empire, when his father and mother had probably been for some time dead. *Cyrus* made the usual sacrifices, and danced the *Persian* dance, according to the custom of his country, and distributed to every one presents as usual. Then being asleep in the royal palace, he had the following dream.—There seemed to advance towards him a person with a more than human majesty in his air and countenance, and to say to him, ‘*Cyrus!* prepare yourself, for you are now going to the gods!’—After this appearance in his dream, he awaked, and seemed assured that his end drew near. Therefore taking along with him the victims, he sacrificed on the summit of a mountain (as is the custom in *Persia*) to *Jove Paternal*, the *Sun*, and the rest of the *Gods*, accompanying the sacrifices with this prayer.

‘*O Jove Paternal! Sun! and all ye Gods!* receive these sacrifices as the completion of many worthy and handsome actions; and as grateful acknowledgments for having signified to me, both by the victims, by celestial signs, by birds and by omens, what became me to do, and not to do. And I abundantly return you thanks, that I have  
‘ been



‘ been sensible of your care and protection ; and  
‘ that in the course of my prosperity, I never was  
‘ exalted above what became a man. I implore  
‘ you now to bestow all happiness on my children !  
‘ my wife ! my friends ! and my country !——  
‘ And for myself ! That I may die as I have always  
‘ lived !’

WHEN he had finished his sacrifices and prayer, he returned home, and finding himself disposed to be quiet, he lay down. At a certain hour proper persons attended, and offered him to wash. He told them that he had rested very well. Then at another hour, proper officers brought him his supper ; but *Cyrus* had no appetite to eat, but seemed thirsty, and drank with pleasure. And continuing thus the second and third days, he sent for his sons, who as it happened had attended their father, and were then in *Persia*. He summoned likewise his friends and the magistrates of *Persia*. When they were all met, he began in this manner.

‘ *CHILDREN !* and all you *my friends* here  
‘ present ! The conclusion of my life is now at  
‘ hand ! which I certainly know from many symp-  
‘ toms.——You ought when I am dead, to act  
‘ and speak of me in every thing, as a happy man.  
‘ For when I was a child, I seemed to have re-  
‘ ceived advantage from what is esteemed worthy  
‘ and handsome in children ; so likewise when I  
‘ was a youth, from what is esteemed so in young  
‘ men ; so when I came to be a man, from what is  
‘ esteemed worthy and handsome in men. And I  
‘ have always seemed to observe myself encrease with  
‘ time in strength and vigour ; so that I have not  
‘ found myself weaker or more infirm in my old  
‘ age, than in my youth. Neither do I know, that  
‘ I have desired or undertaken any thing in which  
‘ I have



‘ I have not succeeded. By my means my friends  
 ‘ have been made happy, and my enemies enslaved :  
 ‘ and my country, at first inconsiderable in *Asia*, I  
 ‘ leave in great reputation and honour. Neither do  
 ‘ I know that I have not preserved whatever I ac-  
 ‘ quired. And tho’ in time past all things have  
 ‘ succeeded according to my wishes ; yet an appre-  
 ‘ hension, lest in process of time I should see, hear,  
 ‘ or suffer some difficulty, has not let me be too  
 ‘ much elated, or too extravagantly delighted.  
 ‘ Now, if I die, I leave you, children ! behind  
 ‘ me, (whom the gods have given me !) and I leave  
 ‘ my country and my friends happy. Ought not I  
 ‘ therefore in justice to be always remembered, and  
 ‘ mentioned as fortunate and happy !——I must  
 ‘ likewise declare to whom I leave my kingdom ;  
 ‘ lest that being doubtful, should hereafter raise dis-  
 ‘ sentions among you.——Now children ! I bear  
 ‘ an equal affection to you both. But I direct,  
 ‘ that the elder should have the advising and con-  
 ‘ ducting of affairs, as his age requires it ; and it  
 ‘ is probable he has more experience. And as I  
 ‘ have been instructed by my country and yours,  
 ‘ to give place to those older than myself, not only  
 ‘ brothers but fellow-citizens ; both in walking,  
 ‘ sitting, and speaking ; so I have instructed you  
 ‘ from your youth, to shew a regard to your elders,  
 ‘ and to receive the like from such as were inferior  
 ‘ to you in age. Receive then this disposition as an-  
 ‘ cient, customary and legal ! Do you therefore,  
 ‘ *Cambyfes* ! hold the kingdom, as allotted you by  
 ‘ the gods, and by me, so far as it is in my power.  
 ‘ To you, *Tanaoxares* ! I bequeath the satrapy of  
 ‘ the *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Cadusians*. Which,  
 ‘ when I allot you, I think I leave your eldest brother  
 ‘ a larger empire, and the title of a kingdom ; but  
 ‘ to you, a happiness freer from care and vexation.  
 For



‘ For I don’t see what human satisfaction you can  
‘ need ; but you will enjoy whatever appears agreea-  
‘ ble and pleasing to men. An affection for such  
‘ things as are difficult to execute, a multitude of  
‘ pains, and an impossibility of being quiet, anxiety  
‘ from an emulation of my actions, forming de-  
‘ signs yourself, and having designs formed against  
‘ you ; these are things which must more necessari-  
‘ ly attend a king, than one in your station. And  
‘ be assured ! these give many interruptions to plea-  
‘ sure and satisfaction. Know therefore, *Cambyses* !  
‘ that it is not the golden scepter which can  
‘ preserve your kingdom ; but faithful friends are  
‘ a prince’s truest and securest scepter. But don’t  
‘ imagine that men are naturally faithful ; (for  
‘ then they would appear so to all, as other natu-  
‘ ral endowments do) but every one must render  
‘ others faithful to himself. And they are not to  
‘ to be procured by violence, but rather by kind-  
‘ nefs and beneficence. If therefore you would con-  
‘ stitute others joint-guardians with you of your  
‘ kingdom ; whom can you better begin with than  
‘ him, who is of the same blood of yourself ; and  
‘ fellow-citizens are nearer to us, than strangers,  
‘ and those who live and eat with us, than those  
‘ that do not. And those who have the same origi-  
‘ nal, who have been nourished by the same mother,  
‘ and grown up in the same house, and beloved by  
‘ the same parents, and who call upon the same fa-  
‘ ther and mother ; are not they of all others, the  
‘ nearest to us ? don’t you therefore render those  
‘ advantages fruitless, by which the gods unite  
‘ brothers in affinity and relation. But to those ad-  
‘ vantages, add other friendly offices ; and by that  
‘ means your friendship will be reciprocally solid  
‘ and lasting. The taking care of a brother, is  
‘ providing for one’s self. To whom can the ad-  
‘ vancement of a brother be equally honourable,

‘ as



‘ as to a brother ? Who can shew a regard to a  
 ‘ great and powerful man, equal to his brother ?  
 ‘ who will fear to injure another so much as him,  
 ‘ whose brother is in an exalted station ? Be there-  
 ‘ fore second to none in submission and good will  
 ‘ to your brother, since no one can be so particu-  
 ‘ larly serviceable or injurious to you. And I  
 ‘ would have you consider, how you can hope for  
 ‘ greater advantages, by obliging any one, so much  
 ‘ as him ? Or whom can you assist that will be so  
 ‘ powerful an ally in war ? or what is more infam-  
 ‘ ous than want of friendship between brothers ?  
 ‘ Who, of all men, can we so handsomely pay re-  
 ‘ gard to, as to a brother ? in a word *Cambyfes* your  
 ‘ brother is the only one you can advance next to  
 ‘ your person, without the envy of others. There-  
 ‘ fore, in the name of the gods ! children ! have  
 ‘ regard to one another, if you are careful to  
 ‘ do what is acceptable to me.——For you  
 ‘ ought not to imagine you certainly know, that,  
 ‘ after I have closed this period of human life, I  
 ‘ shall no longer exist. For neither do you see my  
 ‘ soul ; but you conclude from its operations, that  
 ‘ it does exist. And have not you observed, what  
 ‘ terrors and apprehensions, murderers are inspired  
 ‘ with, by those who have suffered violence from  
 ‘ them ? What racks and tortures do they convey  
 ‘ to the guilty ? or how do you think honours  
 ‘ should have continued to be paid to the deceased,  
 ‘ if their souls were destitute of all power and vir-  
 ‘ tue ? No ! children ! I can never be persuaded,  
 ‘ that the soul lives no longer than it dwells in this  
 ‘ mortal body ; and that it dies on its separation.  
 ‘ For I see, that the soul communicates vigour and  
 ‘ motion to mortal bodies, during its continuance  
 ‘ in them. Neither can I be persuaded that the  
 ‘ soul is divested of intelligence, on its separation  
 ‘ from this gross senseless body. But it is proba-  
 ble,



ble, that when the soul is separated, it becomes pure and entire, and is then more intelligent. It is evident, that on man's dissolution, every part of him returns to what is of the same nature with itself, except the soul. That alone is invisible, both during its presence here, and at its departure. And you may have observed, that nothing resembles death so much as sleep ; but then it is, that the human soul appears most divine, and has a prospect of futurity, for then it is probable, the soul is most free and independent.——If therefore things are as I think, and that the soul leaves the body ; having regard to my soul, comply with my request.——But if it be otherwise, and that the soul continuing in the body, perishes with it ; let nothing appear in your thoughts or actions, criminal or impious, for fear of the gods ! who are eternal ! whose power and inspection extends over all things ! and who preserve the harmony and order of the universe free from decay or defect ! whose greatness and beauty is inexplicable ?——Next to the gods ; have regard to the whole race of mankind, in perpetual succession. For the gods have not concealed you in obscurity ; but there is a necessity, your actions should be conspicuous to the world. If they are virtuous and free from injustice, they will give you power and interest in all men. But if you project what is unjust against each other, no man will trust you ; for no one can place a confidence in you, though his inclination to it be never so great, when he sees you unjust, where it most becomes you to be a friend. If therefore I have not rightly instructed you what you ought to be to one another ; learn it from those who lived before our time, for that will be the best lesson. For there are many who have lived affectionate parents to



‘ their children, and friends to their brothers; and  
 ‘ some there are, who have acted the opposite part  
 ‘ towards each other. Whichsoever of these you  
 ‘ shall observe to have been most advantageous,  
 ‘ you will do well in giving it the preference in  
 ‘ your choice. But perhaps this is sufficient, as to  
 ‘ these matters.——When I am dead, children!  
 ‘ do not inhume my body in gold, nor in silver, or  
 ‘ any thing else; but lay it in the *earth*, as soon as  
 ‘ possible. For what can be more happy than to  
 ‘ mix with the *earth*, which gives birth and nou-  
 ‘ rishment to all things excellent and good? and as  
 ‘ I have always hitherto bore an affection to men,  
 ‘ so it is now most pleasing to me, to incorporate  
 ‘ with that which is beneficial to men.——Now,’  
 said he, ‘ it seems to me, that my soul is beginning  
 ‘ to leave me, in the same manner as it is probable  
 ‘ it begins its departure with others. If therefore  
 ‘ any of you are desirous of touching my right-  
 ‘ hand, or willing to see my face, while it has life;  
 ‘ come near to me. For when I shall have cover-  
 ‘ ed it, I request of you, children! that neither  
 ‘ yourselves, nor any others would look upon my  
 ‘ body. Summon all the *Persians* and their allies,  
 ‘ before my tomb, to rejoice for me; that I shall  
 ‘ be then out of danger of suffering any evil; whe-  
 ‘ ther I shall be with the deity, or shall be reduced  
 ‘ to nothing! as many as come, do you dismiss with  
 ‘ all those favours that are thought proper for a  
 ‘ happy Man. And,’ said he, ‘ remember this, as  
 ‘ my last and dying words!——if you do kind-  
 ‘ nesses to your friends, you will be able to injure  
 ‘ your enemies.——farewell! dear children!  
 ‘ and tell this to your mother, as from me. And  
 ‘ all you my friends! both such of you as are  
 ‘ here present, and the rest who are absent! fare-  
 ‘ well!’ Having said this, and taken every one  
 by



by the right -hand, he covered himself, and thus expired.

THAT *Cyrus's* empire was the noblest and most extensive in *Asia*, is even confirmed by itself. It was terminated to the east by the *Red-Sea*; to the north by the *Euxine-Sea*; to the west by *Cyprus* and *Egypt*; to the south by *Æthiopia*. And though of such an extent, was governed by the single will of *Cyrus*, And to those who were subject to him he shewed *all* kindness and regard, as to children, and they paid *Cyrus* duty and respect, as to a father. Immediately on *Cyrus's* death, his sons fell into dissensions, cities and nations revolted, every thing tending to ruin. To shew that what I assert is truth, I will begin by things divine.

I KNOW that in the early times of their institution the king and those that were subject to him, were religious observers of their oaths, and steady to their promises, even to the most criminal. If they had not been so, and that opinion of them had prevailed, no one would have trusted them: as at this time no one will, since their impiety is notorious. Neither had the commanders of the army, in the expedition with the younger *Cyrus*, put the confidence in them they did. But relying on the antient opinion of their faith, they delivered themselves into their hands, and being brought to the king, had their heads cut off. And many barbarians in that expedition perished in different ways by his treachery and deceit.

WITH respect likewise to these things, they are now degenerated from what they were. For in their primitive institution, if any one hazarded himself for his king, or subdued any city or nation, or performed any great or excellent action, he had honours conferred upon him. Now if any one, as *Mithridates* did *Ariobarfanes*, betrays his father, and



as *Leomitres* his wife and children, and his friends children, left as hostages in *Ægypt*, in violation of the most solemn oaths and engagements ; he is esteemed to have done what is profitable to his prince, and is loaded with the highest honours. ‘ The  
 ‘ *Asiatics* being spectators of these things, are  
 ‘ themselves sunk into impiety and injustice. For  
 ‘ governments always resemble their governors,  
 ‘ and the prosperity or declension, the vigour or  
 ‘ decay of all states, is derived from the virtues  
 ‘ and vices, the abilities or weakness, of their rulers.’  
 For this reason, they are more unjust now than they were formerly. They are likewise more corrupt with respect to riches. For they do not only imprison such as are highly criminal, but the innocent ; and contrary to justice, enforce the payment of their arbitrary impositions. So that they who have great estates, are under the same apprehensions as those that are involved in great crimes. For this reason they will not associate with the better sort, nor dare they enlist themselves in the king’s army. Therefore those that are at war with them, may securely ravage the country without any opposition, if they are disposed to do it ; which is owing to the impiety of the *Persians* towards the gods, and their iniquity towards Men. Thus are their minds and dispositions debauched from what they had been in their first institution.

How defective they are in the care of their bodies, I will in the next place relate. It was part of their institution, not to spit, or blow the nose ; but it is manifest, this was not intended to spare the discharges of the body, but they intended to disperse those humours by exercise and sweat, and by that means to fortify their bodies. And the custom of not spitting or blowing the nose yet continues, though that of exercising is not practised. They likewise originally used to make only one meal a day,



day, that the rest of the day might be employed in action and the dispatch of business. And that custom yet continues.——But beginning their meal very early, they continue eating and drinking till the latest sitters-up to go to bed.

It was likewise an institution among them, not to bring large bottles to their banquets; evidently thinking, that, by not drinking to excess, they should neither weaken their bodies, nor impair their understandings. And that custom too continues, of not bringing such bottles; but they drink to such excess, that, instead of bringing in, they are carried out themselves; not being able to walk without help. It was also a custom of their countries, when they were on a journey, neither to eat or drink, nor to do publickly what is the necessary consequence of both. Abstinence from these things yet continues; but their journeys are so short, that their abstaining from those necessities is nothing wonderful or extraordinary.

FORMERLY they went a hunting so often, that those chaces were sufficient exercise for themselves and their horses. But since king *Artaxerxes* and his companions have debauched themselves with wine, they don't so frequently go out themselves, nor lead others to those chaces. Wherefore, if some, from a fondness to exercise, have gone out a hunting, they have manifestly incurred envy and hatred from those who thought it a mark of superiority, and of being better than themselves.

THE custom likewise yet continues of a publick education of the children; but the practice of horsemanship is neglected, because there are no publick assemblies where they can gain applause by those exercises. And this institution is in every circumstance altered, That the boys, hearing the just and equitable determinations of private causes, were instructed in justice and equity; for now they



see those certainly prevail, who give the most exorbitant bribes. Formerly, likewise, boys were taught the virtues of the several productions of the earth, by which means they made use of such as were good, and abstained from those that were noxious. At this time they seem to be only instructed how to do the most hurt; therefore deaths and poisonings are no where so frequent as amongst them. And they are now much more luxurious than in *Cyrus's* time. For then they practised the *Persian* institutions and temperance, and conformed to the dress and elegance of the *Medes*; but now they have suffered the severity of the *Persians* to be quite extinguished, and retain the effeminacy of the *Medes*, which effeminacy and delicacy of theirs, I have a mind to explain.

IN the first place, it is not sufficient for them to have soft couches, but they must have carpets for their feet, that the floors may not by resistance make a noise, but that the carpets may break the sound. There is no diminution of what victuals used formerly to supply their tables, but new continually invented. And the like in sauces; for they are provided with cooks who supply them with variety in both kinds. In winter, it is not sufficient for them to cover their heads, their bodies, and their feet; but they have hair-gloves for their hands. In summer, the shade of trees and of rocks does not satisfy them; but under these, men stand near them with artificial shades contrived on purpose. If they possess a great number of cups, they are puffed up with it, as a piece of magnificence; and if these be unjustly acquired, they don't consider it as infamous. For injustice, and a sordid love of gain, is mightily encreased among them. Formerly it was a custom of their country's, never to be seen on foot on their journies, for no other reason, but in order to become more skilful horsemen. Now they have more coverings on  
their



their horses than on their couches; for they are not so careful of what concerns their horses, as to sit soft and at their ease.

WITH respect to the affairs of war, is it probable they should not be very much inferior to what they were at first? It was customary in the beginning, that those who possessed lands should furnish horsemen for their army, and pay those that were in garrisons, if they fought in defence of the country. Now, porters, cooks, drawers, bed-makers, dressers, waiters at the baths, servants at table, and perfumers are enlisted in their horse by the great men, that they themselves may make an advantage of their pay. These make an appearance in number, but are of no use in war; which is manifest in experience; for their enemies have a freer passage through their country than their friends. When *Cyrus* had broke them of the custom of engaging at a distance, he armed with breast-plates both them and their horses, and gave every one a javelin in his hand, which they might use in a close battle; but now, they neither engage at a distance, nor at hand. The foot have yet shields and short swords or cut-laces, as in *Cyrus's* time; but they will not venture to come to an engagement. Neither are the chariots of that use *Cyrus* designed them. For he had made brave and skilful drivers, by bestowing rewards and honours upon them who would fall on the heavy-armed part of an army. The *Persians* now, scarce knowing who are in the chariots, imagine that such as are unexercised in driving, understand it as well as those that have practised it. They do indeed make an attack, but before they can break into the enemy's ranks, some of their own accord fall off, others jump down and get away; so that the chariots being without any guides, frequently do more injury to their friends than to their enemies. Since they themselves have been

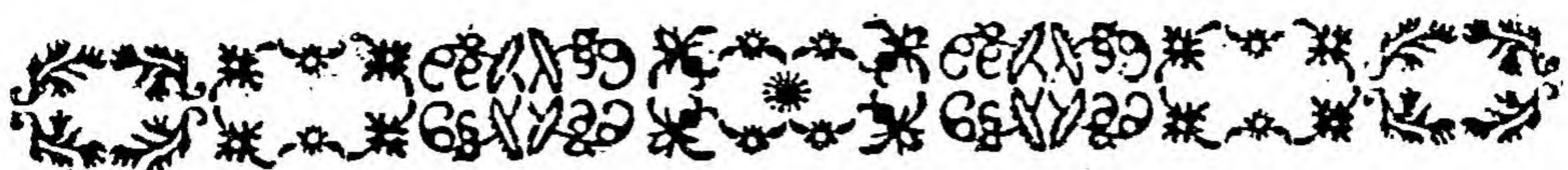


sensible how much they are defective in martial affairs, they yield to others, and none of them engage in a war, without the help of the *Greeks*, whether it be a domestic quarrel, or with the *Greeks* themselves; for they cannot engage even in a war with the *Greeks*, without the assistance of *Greeks*.

Now I think, I have executed what I undertook. For I say, it is evident, that the *Persians* and their allies have less piety towards the gods, less duty and regard to their relations, are less just and equitable in their dealings with others, more effeminate, and less fitted for war, than they were in their first institution. If any one thinks differently, let him consider their actions, and he will find them confirm what I say.

T H E E N D.





A N  
I N D E X,

R E F E R R I N G T O

The Principal Matters Historical ;

A N D A L S O,

To the Observations Natural, Religious,  
Moral, Political, Military, &c. contained  
in the foregoing Translation, in Two  
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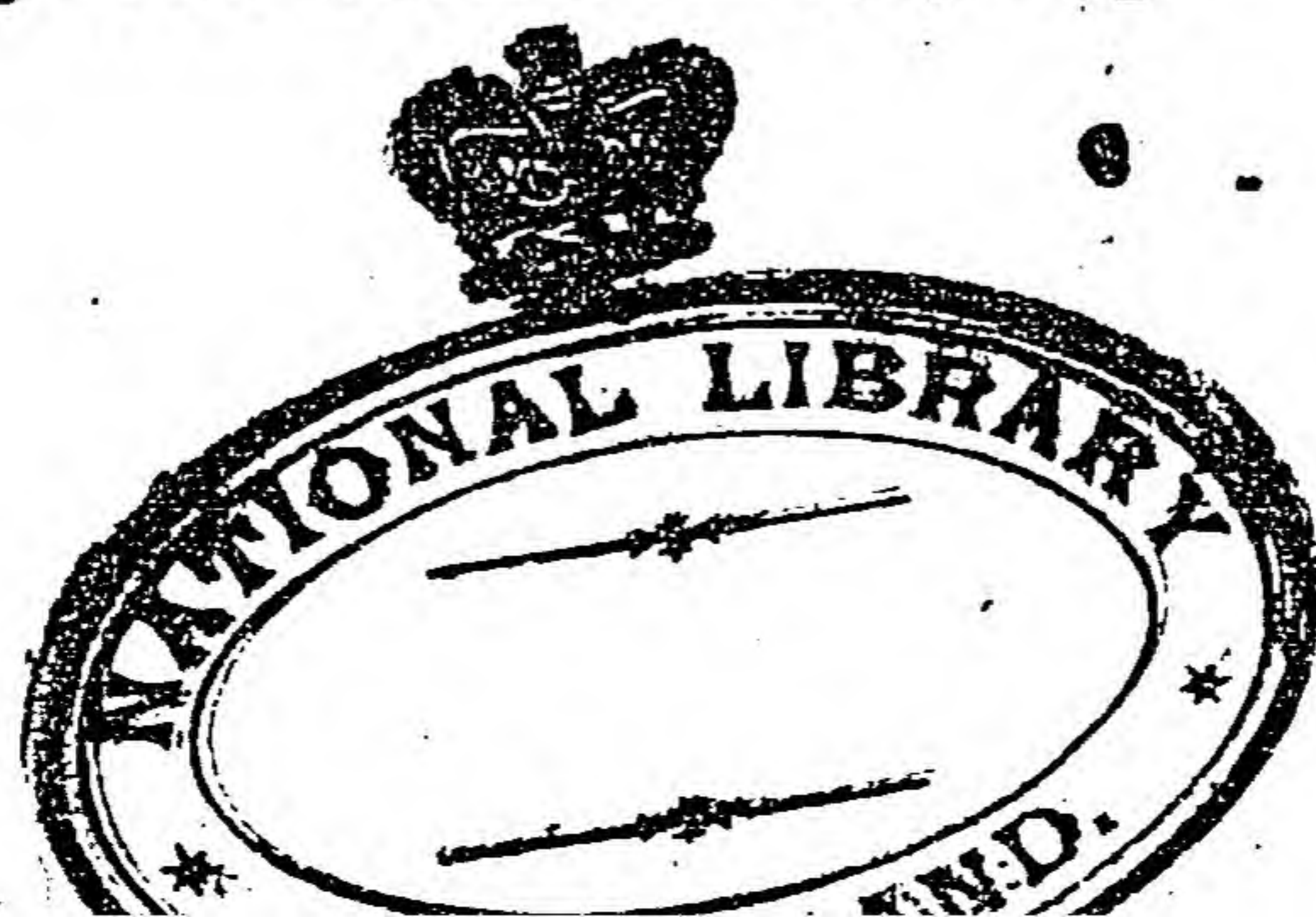
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